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Cambridge Historical Series

EDITED BY G. W. PROTHERO, LITT.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

HONORARY FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET
Berlin: A. ASHER AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND Co., LTD.

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EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

1506—1912

BY

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Revised and Corrected

With an additional Chapter (1904—1912)

BY

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First Edition 1904.
Revised Edition 1913.

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The aim of this series is to sketch the history of Modern Europe, with that of its chief colonies and conquests, from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time. In one or two cases the story commences at an earlier date: in the case of the colonies it generally begins later. The histories of the different countries are described, as a rule, separately; for it is believed that, except in epochs like that of the French Revolution and Napoleon I, the connection of events will thus be better understood and the continuity of historical development more clearly displayed.

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G. W. PROTHERO.

PREFACE.

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to give a connected history of the relations which have prevailed between the nations of the West and the Empires of China, Japan, Annam, and Siam. The ground thus covered is so vast, and the periods dealt with are so extended, that it has been necessary to summarise much which otherwise might well have merited a more detailed treatment.

The difficulty of representing Chinese names in Roman letters has, it is hoped, been successfully met. As the Chinese writing is non-alphabetical, English authors have too frequently been a law unto themselves in their methods of expressing on paper Chinese names and places. Certain forms, such as Foochow, Chefoo, have become stereotyped by usage, though the more modern system of transcription would render them Fuchou, Chifu. In other cases the more recent orthography has been adopted.

The use of the hyphen in Chinese names is often misleading. It used to be the habit to separate each syllable of a Chinese name by a hyphen, which is no more necessary than it would be to write Win-chester, or Peters-burg. This usage is gradually becoming obsolete. We now write Peking instead

of Pe-king, Shanghai instead of Shang-hai; and the older practice, where unnecessary, will no doubt die out in time.

A short article on Chinese geographical terms, reproduced from the *Times*, by the permission of the Editor, has been added as an appendix to the present work.

In the preparation of this work I have to acknowledge my deep obligations to the General Editor for his help and advice. The chapter on the Revolution in Japan, which is entirely from his pen, has already been published in the *Quarterly Review*; and thanks are due to Mr John Murray for the permission to reproduce it here.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

August, 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST.

It is a remarkable fact that though China has loomed so large on the earth's surface for many centuries so little should have been known in Europe until comparatively lately of her territories and people. Her geographical position doubtless partly accounts for this, while the proud and stand-off disposition of the people has tended to preserve their isolation. Throughout all history, however, they have held some kind of communication with the outer world. Even as early as the reign of Hwangti (2697 B.C.) we find mention of visitors to the Chinese Empire from outside territories. On one occasion it is stated that a foreigner riding on a white stag came offering tribute in the shape of skins, etc. This was soon after the advent of the Chinese in the northern part of what we now call China; and the visitor was probably a native of one of the many neighbouring petty tribes with which they were surrounded. For it is necessary to remember that the territory which was at this time occupied by the Chinese was merely that contained within the bend of the Yellow River; and to these newly arrived settlers all outside their own very narrow limits were foreigners. During the Shang dynasty (1766–1154 B.C.) we learn from the native records that travellers from the neighbourhood of Canton came bringing fish-skin cases, sharp swords and shields. These men wore their hair

short, we are told, and their bodies were tattooed. Other companies arrived bringing pearls, tortoise-shells, elephants' teeth, peacocks' feathers, birds and small dogs.

At the beginning of the next dynasty—the Chou (B.C. 1122–255)—intercourse had been established with eight foreign nations; and it was at Canton that the merchants of these states exchanged their goods for the products of Cathay. A duty was first levied on imported goods in 990 B.C. During the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) a regular market was opened at Canton and an officer was sent thither to collect the government dues on sales. As time went on and the trade increased, the foreign merchants, like the European merchants in 1840, became impatient at being confined to one port of entry, and succeeded in gaining access to the provinces of Che-Kiang and Fuhkien in addition to Canton. Matters did not, however, always go smoothly, and trade was stopped on several occasions. Finally, the Chinese made it a law that the foreigners should only bring tribute, as their merchandise was called, once in three years; and international relations were in this condition when the first "Falanki" (European) ship appeared at the wharves of Canton.

But while the Chinese were thus becoming acquainted with such neighbouring peoples as were disposed to embark in trade at Canton and elsewhere, the fame of the rich and powerful Empire in the eastern seas had reached western Asia and Europe. Travellers both by land and by sea spread reports of the wealth and extent of the country which was variously designated as Sin, Chin, Sinæ, China, Seres, and subsequently Cathay. The origin of the first class of names has been long disputed. Some have held that Sin and Chin in their various forms are but the reproductions of Ts'in, the title of a dynasty which ruled in China from B.C. 255 to 206. But the name occurs before the existence of this dynasty. It is found in the laws of Manu and in the Mahābhārata; and there is a show of reason in the supposition that the "Sinim" of Isaiah refers to

the same country. Certain it is that the fame of its importance and its products spread at an early period over the whole of the civilised world. During the reign of the Emperor Yao (B.C. 2356) an envoy arrived from the south who was said to have presented to the Emperor "a divine tortoise," on the back of which were inscribed letters in the shape of tadpoles in which was written a complete history of the world. This description of the writing, together with designations of the people—"a people wearing long training robes"—such as are represented in the Assyrian monuments, suggested the idea, adopted by Pauthier, that the ambassadors came from Chaldea. But, be this as it may, we find Ptolemy speaking of Sinæ and Thinæ, forms which the name would take in the mouths of Arab travellers, who are destitute of the sound of *Ch*. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* writes of *Thin*; and Marcianus tells us that the empire of Thin lies at the extremity of the habitable world. Ptolemy was the first to use the terms Sere and Serica, names derived from the silken goods which were already finding their way into the markets of eastern Europe. In the same way Mela and Pliny speak of Seres, though they were both ignorant of the nature of silk; while Pausanias, being better informed, was aware that silk was spun by insects which the Seres tended for the purpose. About four centuries later, as we learn from Procopius, silk-worms were carried from China to Byzantine territories by two travelled monks. At this time the knowledge of China had become more exact; and Cosmas, writing in the sixth century, speaks of it with certainty under the name of Tzinista, which is nearly identical with Tzinisthan, the form which the name takes on the celebrated Nestorian inscription at Hsi-an Fu in China.

The barriers between East and West were difficult to cross during the early centuries of our era; and news filtered slowly from Asia into Europe. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand how the knowledge of the Far East could have

been so long confined to misty legends and uncertain rumour. For we know that more than one Chinese expedition penetrated into western Asia during the last centuries B.C. and the beginning of our era.

In the second century B.C. the general Chang Ch'ien advanced westward so far as Fergana and Bactria; and two centuries later Pan Ch'ao led an expeditionary force to the shores of the Caspian. These overland journeys may very reasonably have suggested the possibility of return missions from Europe to the Far East; and in the Chinese records we find mention of several such. During the Han dynasty, in A.D. 166, an envoy from the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus presented himself at the court of Yen-hsi, bringing presents of rhinoceros-horns, ivory, and tortoise-shells. In A.D. 284 a like mission was despatched by the Emperor Carus to the Chinese court, when, as we are told, the presents brought were accepted as tribute by T'aik'ang of the Western Tsin dynasty. In the seventh century the reigning emperor at Fulin or Constantinople, named by the Chinese writers "Potoli," sent an envoy bearing rubies, emeralds, etc. as presents to Chêng-kwan, the second ruler of the celebrated T'ang dynasty. A more than ordinary reception was accorded to this traveller, who carried back with him a conciliatory letter to his master. Justinian II and Leo the Isaurian, in 711 and 719 A.D., despatched representatives to the courts of Ching-yün and K'ai-yüan. In the latter case the presents offered included "lions and great sheep with spiral horns," the first of which may well have proved embarrassing gifts. Not content with this first embassy, Leo despatched a second mission composed of "Priests of Great Virtue," in the year 742. These men are doubtless those whose arrival in China is recorded on the celebrated Nestorian tablet at Hsi-an Fu, in which the name of the leader is mentioned as Kiho, to whom the expression of "Priest of Great Virtue" is also applied. Hsi-an Fu was then the capital of the Empire,

as it was when the next mission, sent by order of King "Mili-i-ling Kais-a," visited China in 1081.

Down to this time the names by which China had been known in Europe were either some variant of Sin or Thin, or of Seres. But already for some two centuries (907–1125) the K'itan Tartars had held dominion over the northern provinces of the Empire; and by this tribal name, corrupted into Kitai and from that to Cathay, the country was designated by Marco Polo and his followers.

At the fall of this dynasty the Kin Tartars succeeded to its inheritance, and held power until they were swept away by the merciless hordes of Jenghiz Khan and his successors. Unlike the other Tartar dynasties, that founded by Jenghiz Khan ruled during the reign of his grandson Kublai over the whole of China. It was while this sovereign was on the throne (1260–1294) that Marco Polo visited Cathay. During the Mongol supremacy several attempts had been made by devoted missionaries of Christianity to reach this *Ultima Thule*; but, though they used every endeavour, they succeeded only in visiting the Mongol camps at Karakorum, never being allowed to cross the Great Wall into the Promised Land. The efforts of these holy men to introduce Christianity into the Ordus (hordes, i.e. camps) of the warlike Mongols were not attended with much success. But as the Monk Ricold, of Monte Croce, says, "It is worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people, that just at the time when God had sent forth in the western parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent into the East His faithful servants Dominic and Francis to enlighten, instruct, and build up in the Faith."

So scanty are the details of the sojourn of these missionaries at Karakorum that it may be safely inferred that their mission was a failure. This did not, however, discourage others from trying to succeed where they had failed; and in 1245–47 John de Plano Carpini carried a letter from the Pope to Batu Khan. But not even Carpini was allowed to penetrate into

China; and indeed this mission from Pope Innocent IV was rather charged with the duty of gaining information on the subject of the Mongol power than of acquiring knowledge of Cathay. But during his residence at the Ordu of Kuyuk, the reigning Khan, he met numerous Chinamen and formed a good general idea of their characteristics. "Now these Kitai," he writes, "are heathen men, and have a written character of their own.... They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a peculiar language. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by man are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is very rich in corn, in wine, in gold and silver, in silk, and in every kind of produce tending to the support of man."

Eight years later the Pope, possibly dissatisfied with Carpini's report, despatched another Franciscan friar, one William of Rubruquis, who followed much the same course eastward as his predecessor, and returned without having been permitted to go further than the Mongol capital. He, however, made himself better acquainted with the Chinese at Karakorum than Carpini did, as the description he gives of them testifies. "Further on," he writes, "is great Cathay, which I take to be the country which was anciently called the land of the Seres, for the best silk stuffs are still got from them.... These Cathayans are little fellows, speaking much through the nose, as is general with all these people; their eyes are very narrow. They are first-rate artists of every kind, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs.... The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton paper, about a palm in length, and bracelets, upon which certain lines are painted, resembling the seal of Mangu Khan. They do their writing with a pencil, such as painters paint with; and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters, so as to form a whole word."

More fortunate than these ecclesiastical travellers, the Polos,

who were merchants of Venice, succeeded in reaching the goal which had been denied to their predecessors. With no settled plan of exploration the two brothers Nicolo and Matteo Polo started for Constantinople in about 1257, and thence continuing eastward they travelled by the Caspian Sea to Bokhara. After a residence of three years at this trading centre they were fortunate enough to be allowed to join a Persian embassy to the court of Kublai Khan. On arriving at the summer residence of the Khan they were welcomed by him, and received a commission under his sign-manual to return to Europe and to engage the services of a hundred Europeans, well skilled in the arts and sciences, to act as instructors to the Mongols. In 1269 the two brothers reached Venice, and being unable to fulfil the mission with which they were entrusted, they returned to the Mongol court (1271), taking with them young Marco, the son of Nicolo. Though they had failed to carry out the wishes of Kublai, they were received by that monarch with great cordiality; and Marco found special favour in his eyes. The facility with which the young Venetian learned the Mongol language and customs still further recommended him to the favour of his patron, who despatched him, though yet a youth, on a special mission to the court of Annam (1277), in course of which he gained much of the knowledge concerning Tibet, Yunnan, and Burma, with which we are familiar from his "Book." After having filled various other offices he was appointed Governor of Yang-chow, on the Yangtsze, which post he held with increasing credit to himself for three years. He was subsequently sent as commissioner with the Mongol army in a campaign against the kingdom of Pegu, and finally undertook an embassy to Cochin China. The Polos had now spent seventeen years in Cathay, and were not unnaturally desirous of returning to Europe. To their repeated applications for permission to do so the Khan turned a deaf ear; and they would probably have lived and died in their exile had not Kublai desired to send a Mongol

Princess as consort to the reigning sovereign of Persia. The Mongol officials, who would naturally have been appointed to accompany the Princess, dared not face the voyage; and eventually the three Polos, much to their delight, were instructed to form the necessary escort. This they did to the eminent satisfaction of the Princess, who wept bitter tears at taking leave of them. Having discharged this duty they returned to Venice, where they arrived in the year 1295.

Just about the time when the Polos reappeared on the Rialto after the lapse of a quarter of a century, a Franciscan friar, John de Monte Corvino by name, reached China by sea. Unlike that of the Polos, his mission was to bring the light of the Gospel into the dark places of Cathay. At first only slight success attended his proselytising efforts, but gradually converts ranged themselves under his banner; and, with the help of others who joined him in his crusade against idolatry, he succeeded in establishing a Christian community of such importance as to justify the Pope in making him Bishop of Peking. To aid him in his work, a hierarchy of suffragan bishops and priests was appointed to his diocese; and churches were established not only at Peking but at Tsuan-chow in Fuhkien, at Yang-chow, where Marco Polo had ruled as Governor, and elsewhere. Under the patronage of Kublai Khan Christianity flourished in China; and numerous missionaries arrived from time to time to further the great work. In 1338 the great Khan sent an embassy to Rome; and in return Benedict XII despatched John de Marignolli to Peking, where he resided for four years as Papal Legate.

The knowledge of the wealth and importance of Cathay, which was brought to Europe by these pioneers of civilisation, induced the merchants of Genoa and Florence to visit by sea the rich marts of the extreme East. So profitable did these ventures prove to be that a considerable trade sprang up; and during the first half of the fourteenth century an intermittent commercial intercourse was maintained. Down to that time only

occasional news from Europe reached the exiles in China; and Monte Corvino states on one occasion that he had been twelve years without receiving any letter from his native country. With the growth of trade this isolation disappeared; and in 1340 Francisco Balducci Pegolotti compiled a commercial guide in which he gave full and minute information as to the trade of the different Chinese markets, the routes thither to be followed, the currencies of the different countries traversed, and the paper money of Cathay. Besides these priests and merchants from Europe, travellers from Persia frequently followed the same routes eastward; and the Moorish traveller, Ibu-Batuta has left us much curious information which he gained in his visit to China in 1347–48. At this time the dynasty established by Jenghiz Khan was tottering to its fall; and a period of great disturbance followed which put an end, for the time being, to both missions and foreign commerce alike.

From the ashes of the Mongol dynasty arose the Chinese line of Ming sovereigns, who presented so obstructive an attitude towards everything foreign that during the fifteenth century a complete veil overshadowed the Far East so far as Europe was concerned. Trade and religion were paralysed; and it was not until the Portuguese and Spanish adventurers reopened communication with the Empire in the sixteenth century that any news of China again reached the Western world. It was as though the country had been blotted out of the map; and, when it reappeared, it did so under a guise which gave it the aspect of a newly discovered land. All the names which had been made familiar by Marco Polo were exchanged for modern forms. Cathay, Cambalec, Campsay, Zayton, and Chinkalan, had become China, Peking, Hang-chow, Chin-chow, and Canton; but it was some considerable time before it was generally accepted that the Cathay of the fourteenth century was identical with China, and even as late as the seventeenth century map-makers laid it down as a country lying to the

north of China. By degrees, however, missionaries returned to the deserted field, and once again took up the work which had fallen from the hands of the Franciscans.

But trade also had its share in the revival; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese, having succeeded in rounding the Cape, carried their flag to the shores of China. It was probably with reference to some of these early explorers that the following statement, quoted from a Chinese work by Dr Wells Williams in his *Middle Kingdom*, relates: "During the reign of Ching-tih (1506) foreigners from the West called Falanki (Franks), who said that they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue (on the Canton river) and by their tremendously loud guns shook the place far and near. This was reported at court; and an order was returned to drive them away, and to stop their trade. About this time also the Hollanders, who in ancient time inhabited a wild territory and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and their hair were red, their bodies tall, their eyes were blue and were sunk deep into their heads. Their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long, and their strange appearance frightened the people."

It is difficult to identify these violent intruders; but we know that the Portuguese Rafael Perestrello reached the China coast in a vessel bearing his national flag in 1516, and that in the following year Ferdinand Andrada brought a fleet of merchantmen, and so soon won the good opinion of the native authorities at Canton that he was allowed to trade and to establish an anchorage at Shang-ch'uan. The advent of this trade was taken advantage of by the Governor of Goa to despatch Thomé Perez as envoy to the court of China. It is not quite clear how far he was allowed to play the part of an ambassador. At first there seems to have been a disposition on the part of the Emperor to accept him as a duly accredited minister; but the disgraceful conduct of his countrymen and especially of Simon Andrada, the brother of Ferdinand, induced Ching-tih to en-

quire into Perez's credentials. These having been found to be faulty, Perez was thrown into prison, and together with other Portuguese offenders was finally beheaded. Meanwhile Simon Andrada suffered the just consequences of his crimes, and was driven from Canton, but being unwilling to lose the commercial advantages which he had gained he voyaged northwards along the coast line of China and succeeded in establishing settlements at Amoy and Ningpo. But though, for a time, the Portuguese were thus driven away from Canton, they soon reopened commercial relations at that port; and in 1537 we find them in possession of three factories in the neighbourhood of the city, viz. at the islands of Shang-ch'uan and Lang-peh-kow, and at Macao. The settlement at Macao was established in a characteristic manner. Under the pretence of drying goods which were said to have been damaged in a storm, the Portuguese erected sheds and finally opened warehouses on the promontory. Here they were allowed to remain on the condition that they paid a rent for the land; and on these terms they held possession until quite recently, when by a convention the settlement was recognised by the Chinese as Portuguese territory. But, though the Cantonese authorities were thus complaisant to the Portuguese in their neighbourhood, very different relations existed between the Chinese and the followers of Simon Andrada at Ningpo. There the conduct of the foreigners had been infamous. They outraged every law and set the feelings of the people at defiance. They refused to submit to the native authorities, and on one occasion in revenge for one of their number having been cheated by a Chinaman they sent an armed band into a neighbouring village and plundered the natives, carrying off a number of women and young girls. By such deeds they brought down on themselves the vengeance of the people, who rose and massacred eight hundred of the offenders and burnt thirty-five of their ships. At Chin-chow in the province of Fuhkien they invited disaster by similar misconduct. A certain Coello de Souza having

illegally seized the estate of a resident foreigner, the matter was reported to the mandarins, who, in accordance with common practice, cut off all supplies from the Portuguese. In this strait the Portuguese attacked a neighbouring village, and replenished their stores of provisions from the shops and dwellings of the natives. In this case also a swift retribution followed. Thirteen of their ships were destroyed; and, out of a colony of five hundred, only thirty escaped to Macao (1549).

By such acts as these the Portuguese brought discredit on the name of foreigners, who up to this time had been tolerated at Canton and elsewhere in consideration of the very profitable trade they had developed, and by virtue of the rich bribes which they had poured into the pockets of the mandarins. But these gains were more than nullified by the outrages they had committed; and an edict was issued from Peking ordering all communication to be broken off with these rebellious people. In pursuance of this command Alfonso Martino de Mello, an ambassador sent to reopen diplomatic relations with the Empire, was forbidden to land; and, on his further attempting to do so, his fleet was attacked and he and his followers were taken prisoners to Canton, where twenty-three of their number were put to death by the "slow and lingering" process as spies and pirates. Another embassy started from Goa in 1552 accompanied by Francis Xavier, but got no further than Malacca. Xavier, however, was not to be so easily turned back, and he reached the Chinese coast alone. But the deeds of his countrymen were fatal to his mission, and the mandarins refused to allow him to land. He took up his residence therefore on the island of Shang-ch'uan within sight of the land which his soul had yearned to enter, and there he died, having been unwilling up to the last to relinquish all hope of being able to engage in the work which it had been the object of his life to undertake.

Meanwhile the Spaniards had established themselves in the Philippines and in the pursuit of trade had engaged and

conquered the fleet of the famous Chinese pirate Li Ma-hon, an action which so gratified the Chinese admiral who had been sent to seize the freebooter that he invited the conquering Spaniards to visit China. The opportunity thus offered was eagerly seized upon by two friars, who, attended by two soldiers, took passage with the Chinese admiral for Chin-chow (1575). Here they were well received and even introduced to the Viceroy of the province, in whose presence, however, they were obliged to kneel. For a time they hoped to be allowed to preach to the people, but this, the one object of their visit, being denied them, they returned to the Philippines.

Four years later (1579) some Franciscans from Manila made another attempt to reach the desired goal with a like result. But the repeated failures which had attended the efforts of the friars by no means damped their missionary ardour; and the arrival at Shao-king of Matteo Ricci in 1582 opened a new chapter of intercourse between the East and West. With wise diplomacy Ricci ingratiated himself with the authorities by expressing unbounded admiration for everything he saw, and by professing a desire to make himself acquainted with the language and literature of the country. He was allowed to build a house, where he displayed to the amazement of the people the scientific instruments and appliances which he had brought with him. An image of the Virgin and Child was much admired, until it became reported that it was an object of worship, when Ricci found it wise to withdraw it from the common gaze. In the same way it became necessary to conceal a crucifix, as the idea of adoration being offered to a Being who had been condemned to so agonising and ignominious a death was repugnant to the feelings of the people. But no such objection existed with regard to his scientific instruments, which were objects of great attraction and about which the common people heard him gladly. From the first he had announced that he had not come with the idea of preaching a new religion, his object being rather to learn than

to teach. He presented the Governor with a clock, and made globes and sun-dials, with which to interest his acquaintances. His mechanical skill gained for him the character of a magician, and he was credited with having secured the promotion of the Governor by the possession of supernatural influences.

For a time all things went well with Ricci; but, so soon as the novelty of his arts disappeared, rumours arose as to his real motive in coming to China. He was denounced as a spy, and was charged, quite after the modern manner, with decoying and murdering children for the purpose of making magical medicines from parts of their bodies. So persistent were these reports, that, acting on the advice of the Governor, he shook the dust of the city off his feet and started northwards towards Peking. On his way he visited Nanking, and there met with a favourable reception from the officials and people. He explained to them the principles of European astronomy and mathematics, and attempted by gradual steps to lead the natives on to the doctrines of Christianity. In this he was partly successful; he was allowed to build churches, but he soon found that the complaisance he met with arose rather from indifference than from any desire to be enlightened, and he eventually moved to Peking, having been appointed Superior-General of the Jesuits in China. At the capital he gained the suffrages of the great by his scientific acquirements and courtly manners, and he even made converts. Among those who joined his Church was a wealthy man named Hsü, who assisted him to translate Euclid and other works into Chinese. The Emperor Wan-leih gave him his patronage and even bestowed a stipend upon him. By this time other Jesuits had joined the mission; and to all outward appearance the Church flourished amazingly. But it occasionally met with checks; and on one occasion so fierce was the opposition to the Jesuits that they and all other foreigners were ordered to leave the country. Ricci and his companions succeeded, how-

ever, in weathering the storm, and he continued to live in Peking until his death in 1610.

Early in the seventeenth century, disturbances, such as those which have always preceded the downfall of dynasties in China, broke out all over the Empire; and the missions suffered severely. The Jesuits were obliged to retreat to places of safety, and their converts were of necessity left to the tender mercies of their fanatical countrymen. It was some years before order was restored by the conquering Manchus. But as these northerners established their power, peace gradually spread over the land; and as the Jesuits, headed by Adam Schaal, ranged themselves on the side of the victors, they enjoyed the favour of the first Emperor of the new and still reigning dynasty of Ts'ing. Schaal's scientific acquirements were recognised by his sovereign, who in acknowledgement of his services in correcting a mistake in the Imperial Calendar made by the officials of the Board of Astronomy, appointed him President of that august body and entrusted him with the care of the Peking Observatory. But the disgrace this inflicted on the native astronomers was not forgotten; and no sooner had Schaal's patron died than his enemies memorialised the five Regents, who were entrusted with the administration of the Empire during the minority of the succeeding Emperor, K'anghsi, against him. The Regents, who sympathised with the views of the memorialists, took action, and decreed that "Schaal and his associates merited the punishment of seducers, who announce to the people a false and pernicious doctrine." Death was the sentence passed on the Jesuits, but fortunately more moderate counsels prevailed; and the bulk of the offenders were banished into Mongolia, while Schaal and three others were sent as criminals to Canton, where they were imprisoned, and where death relieved Schaal of his sufferings in 1665, at the age of seventy-eight.

With the assumption of power by the young Emperor K'anghsi brighter days dawned on the missionaries; and the

services rendered by Schaal to the State were gratefully remembered. Not only had that Jesuit reformed the Calendar but, amongst other things, he had cast cannon for his Imperial master and had thus helped to secure the victory of Manchus, who fully appreciated this very material help. Verbiest, who succeeded Schaal at Peking, reaped where the others had sown, and speedily rose high in the Imperial favour. He was appointed President of the Astronomical Board, and while holding that office he wrote an astronomical work entitled *The Perpetual Astronomy of the Emperor K'anghsi*, which was dedicated to the Emperor. He was also the author of several other works on European science, and he was constantly employed in instructing the Emperor in the wisdom of the West. But, though his influence at court was great, he gained but partial recognition of Christianity at the hands of his patron, who, while content to allow missionaries to reside in the country, prohibited them from proselytising among his subjects. It was probably, indeed, the judicious diplomacy with which Verbiest brought science rather than religion prominently before the notice of the Emperor, which secured to him the countenance of the court. Certain it is that from the time when K'anghsi assumed the reins of power to the death of Verbiest, that missionary basked in Imperial sunshine, and at his death in 1688 he was universally regretted. This was the more remarkable, because during the greater part of this period a bitter religious quarrel had raged between the Jesuits in China and the Dominicans and Franciscans. The Jesuits, of whom Verbiest was a notable example, had attempted to win their way by appealing rather to the intellect than to the hearts and consciences of the people, and had sanctioned many rites among their converts which in the opinion of their opponents savoured of idolatry. They gave their approval to the worship of ancestors, which they declared was a civil rather than a religious rite; and in this contention they were supported by the Emperor, who further sided with them as to

the terms to be applied to the Christian Deity. In Chinese literature the word *T'ien*, "Heaven," is frequently used for the Supreme Being; and, true to their principle of accepting so far as possible the native system of religion, the Jesuits adopted it to signify "God." To this, as also to their general policy, their opponents strenuously objected, and, finding the Jesuits immovable, they referred the whole question to Rome. The Pope, Clement XI, after long and grave consideration pronounced against the Jesuits. He forbade Christians to perform or to be present at the performance of the native rites in question, and declared that the term T'ienchu, or "Lord of Heaven," was to be used to express "God." This decision was bitterly resented by K'anghsi, who having been appealed to had given an opinion in a directly contrary sense, and who contended that on such matters, affecting the motives of the people and the force of native expressions, he was a better authority than the Pope of Rome, who knew nothing personally of the rights of the question and could only be guided by the opinions of others, very little better qualified to express a decision than the reverend Father himself.

Down to this time K'anghsi had given full countenance to the missionaries and had attached two of their number, Fathers Bonost and Gerbillon, to his person, even taking them into Mongolia on his sporting expeditions. With the help of these men he studied geometry, algebra, natural philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and anatomy, and in all these subjects made considerable progress. The decisions of Rome, however, made him less careful to protect the missionaries in the provinces; and, as is always the case in China, the change of view entertained by the court was instantly reflected in the country. The natural consequences followed. The opponents of Christianity, who had been held in check by K'anghsi's predisposition, were given a free hand, and persecutions broke out on all sides. But again the tide turned, and once more the missionaries regained the favour of the Emperor, who

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not only allowed them to build a church at Peking, but gave them money towards that object. In return the missionaries devoted themselves to the service of the State. Among other useful works they completed a survey of the Empire, and were able to present the Emperor with maps of his provinces on a scale, and with an accuracy, such as were rare at the time even in European countries.

Under Yung-chêng, K'anghsi's successor, all these services were forgotten; and the people were encouraged to bring accusations against the foreign intruders. The Viceroy of the province of Fuhkien led the way with a memorial to the throne in which he brought against them the charges with which we have of late been made familiar. Foreigners, he wrote, paid no honour to their parents, and were as a stream without a source. They disregarded the sages of antiquity and found fault with the doctrines they inculcated. But worst of all they encouraged women and girls to go to church with men, and even withdrew female converts into dark rooms on the plea of hearing their confessions. These and other charges were referred to the Board of Rites for its opinion; and the advice of this learned body was to the effect that the Peking missionaries who were engaged in useful secular work should be allowed to remain, but that all foreigners in the provinces should be at once ordered to leave the country. Many of the missionaries so far obeyed the decree that they left their posts for Canton, their port of entry. Others concealed themselves and their flocks until the tyranny should be over-passed. For the converts it was a time of bitter distress. They were robbed and persecuted until, deprived of the support of the missionaries, Christianity almost disappeared in the provinces.

During the reign of K'ienlung, Yung-chêng's successor, the missionaries, though still under a cloud, were allowed to prosecute their calling. But the simplicity of life which distinguished the early Jesuits had disappeared; and the missionaries, like their successors of the present day, alienated the

people by adopting the insignia of official rank, and claiming for themselves several privileges to which they were by no means entitled. "If," writes Ripa, "our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manner to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased. ...Their garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them....The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of having made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptise those who have been already converted by others."

But, while these efforts to evangelise the Chinese were being made, repeated attempts, attended with more or less success, were made to establish foreign trade with the people, and for that purpose to open political relations with the government. Russia, as her nearest neighbour, was naturally the first to propose diplomatic intercourse with China, and with this object in view despatched two Cossacks, Petroff and Yallysheff, to Peking in the year 1567. Doubtless from ignorance these envoys arrived at the Chinese capital empty-handed, and were brusquely sent about their business in consequence. Unfortunately experience did not teach the Russian government wisdom; and in 1619 it again made the mistake of neglecting to send presents in the hands of its envoy. On this occasion Evashko Pettlin represented the Tsar. But he fared no better than his Cossack predecessors, and was obliged to leave Peking without having been admitted into the Imperial presence.

Meanwhile the Dutch, having shaken off the Spanish yoke, determined to compete with the Portuguese for the growing trade of China; and in 1622 a fleet of 17 vessels carrying the

Dutch flag appeared off Macao. The presence of this fleet was agreeable neither to the Chinese nor to the Portuguese; and it was successfully attacked and driven off with the loss of the admiral and 300 men. Unwilling, however, to resign all hope of a profitable venture, the fleet set sail and took possession of the Pescadores, a group of islands lying between Formosa and the mainland. The seizure of these islands was eminently distasteful to the Chinese authorities, who made several attempts to recover their lost territory; but failing in these efforts they opened negotiations with the intruders, and eventually induced them to exchange the Pescadores for the island of Formosa, which at that time can hardly be said to have belonged to the Chinese crown. Here the Dutch established themselves at Fort Zealandia and administered some rough and ready justice in the neighbourhood of their settlement. While providing for the political necessities of their new subjects, they did not neglect their spiritual interests, and sent (1626) George Candidius and others to impart to them the truths of the Gospel. For a time success attended the efforts of these missionaries. Converts flocked to them. Churches were built, and schools were established at which the natives were taught to write their language in Roman letters. But this success was of short duration. For political reasons the missionaries were withdrawn, and spiritual darkness again settled down on the land.

At this time China was in the throes of a political convulsion. The Manchus had driven the last of the rulers of the Ming dynasty from the throne and were carrying fire and sword through the land. Any attempt on the part of the Dutch to establish themselves on the mainland would necessarily have been futile; and they contented themselves with the small trade which they had secured in Formosa until peace should be restored in the provinces of the Empire. In 1653 the Manchus had sufficiently consolidated their power as to revive commerce; and the Dutch government sent Schedel to

attempt to open trade at Canton. The opposition of the Portuguese was still, however, too strong for the new-comers; they were forced again to depart, and to be satisfied with the advice that they should send an embassy to Peking. This they did; and two years later Messrs Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser, with two merchants, six writers, a steward, a surgeon, two interpreters, a trumpeter and a drummer, set sail from Canton, and going by way of Nan-yang Fu and Nanking, they arrived at Peking in the course of the following year. Here the ever-recurring question of the Kotow confronted them; and they were refused an audience until they had agreed to go through the humiliating ceremony. This they did, and not only before the Emperor in person, but before his name and his throne they bowed themselves to the earth, striking their heads on the ground nine times. The advantage they secured by these prostrations was the permission to send an embassy once in eight years, which was to consist of not more than a hundred men, and to be accompanied by not more than four ships.

About the same time (1650) the Tsar Alexis made another attempt to open relations with the court of Peking. But the question of the Kotow proved as fatal to this mission as it had to previous ones; and Count Baikoff returned to his Imperial master without having been admitted into the presence of the Son of Heaven. For some years, however, Russian merchants had carried on a frontier trade with China; and in 1658, 1672, and 1677 trading missions succeeded in reaching Peking.

Rumours of the reported wealth of the Chinese trade had many years before this reached England; and Queen Elizabeth, who was always keenly alive to the interests of her subjects, commissioned three ships, under the command of Benjamin Wood, to open trade with the Celestial Empire. Unhappily the three ships were lost on the voyage; and it was not until 1637 that another pioneer fleet set sail for the Promised Land.

AMIAR SINGH

This squadron consisted of five ships, the *Planter*, the *Dragon*, the *Sun*, the *Catherine* and the *Ann*, under the command of Captain Weddell. The arrival of these vessels at Macao at once aroused the opposition of the Portuguese, who maligned the intruders and misrepresented their motives to the Chinese authorities. So effectively did they spread their calumnies that Weddell, finding that it was impossible to open trade under the Portuguese flag at Macao, declared his intention of proceeding to Canton. The Chinese, however, were determined to do all in their power to frustrate this design, and so soon as the ships came within range of the guns at the Bogue Forts they opened fire upon them. Weddell returned the fire, and landing a boat's crew, captured the forts without any difficulty. As is always the case with the Chinese in such emergencies, they at once opened negotiations and agreed to permit the ships to embark cargoes at Canton, on condition that the guns which had been captured at the Bogue Forts should be restored. These arrangements having been carried out the ships set sail homeward bound. The difficulties which had accompanied this venture were such as to discourage the renewal of the attempt; and it was not until 1664 that another effort was made to establish a trade with this exclusive nation. But this endeavour fared no better than Weddell's venture. The East India Company sent agents to Macao, who settled themselves there and began trading operations with the native merchants; but the Chinese, true to their policy of repulsing the foreigners, and being unable to do so *vi et armis*, adopted the expedient of levying such heavy charges on the ships and on their cargoes that the agents were obliged to give up the enterprise.

While the English had been making these efforts, the Dutch were clinging to their possessions in Formosa in the hope that they would be able to establish a profitable trade. But they were soon to be disabused of this idea. The formidable chieftain and pirate Chêng Ch'êng-kung, commonly known to

Europeans as Koxinga, having designs on the island, attacked the Dutch in force; and after a lengthy siege the garrison of Fort Zealandia was compelled to surrender. To repair this disaster the Batavian authorities despatched an envoy named Bort, with twelve ships, with orders to offer his services to the Chinese authorities in their campaign against Koxinga. Bort landed at Foochow, but, finding that the Chinese feared him *et dona ferentem*, he returned to Batavia after having engaged in some futile attempts against Koxinga. The extension of Dutch trade in the Far East was not however to be given up so easily; and Bort was almost immediately again sent to the coast of Fuhkien, with orders to attack alike Koxinga and the Imperial forces, in case it should be necessary in order to secure satisfaction for the loss of Formosa. The Chinese persuaded him, however, that his interest lay in supporting them against Koxinga. Bort fell into the trap; and, having by his assistance retaken Amoy from Koxinga and driven him off the mainland, the mandarins offered the Dutchman in return the loan of two junks to reinforce his further efforts to recover Formosa.

Finding himself disappointed of Chinese support and being unable single-handed to face Koxinga, Bort returned to Batavia. Their efforts to establish a trade with China through negotiations with the provincial authorities having thus failed, the Batavian Council determined to send an embassy to Peking, and in the following year despatched Van Hoorn on this Imperial mission. After a considerable delay at Foochow, Van Hoorn proceeded overland to the capital, and, after a weary journey of many months' duration, arrived at Peking. Having, like his predecessors, consented to perform the Kotow, he was admitted into the Imperial presence in company with Mongolian Khans and Tibetan chieftains, but failed entirely to gain any concessions in the way of commercial privileges, and had to content himself with a sealed complimentary letter which he was charged to deliver to those

who had sent him. After these repeated failures the Dutch refused to send any more embassies to be flouted and then dismissed, and determined to carry on such trade as they might be allowed at Canton. By this time a cosmopolitan colony had settled at that port; and, although the restrictions placed on their movements and the taxes imposed on the trade by the authorities were burdensome in the extreme, they yet found that there was left a sufficient margin of profit to justify them in submitting to these exactions.

Though this was the case, the attitude of the mandarins was so capricious that the East India Company determined to support the British traders in China by a treaty with any local authority who would be willing to grant one. As a result of enquiries they came to the conclusion that the province of Fuhkien offered the fairest field for the efforts of their countrymen, and, finding that Koxinga's son, who had succeeded to his father's conquests, was in possession of the port of Amoy and the island of Formosa, they concluded a treaty with him (1670). A working system was formed which for a time satisfied both parties, the pirate chieftain securing to himself certain advantageous monopolies, and the merchants acquiring various profitable though irregular rights. On these conditions trade continued for some few years; and in 1678 "the investments for these two places were $30,000 in bullion, and $20,000 in goods; the returns were chiefly in silk goods, tutenague, rhubarb, etc." But the greed of the mandarins, possibly partly prompted by policy, laid such burdens on the growing trade that it was impossible to carry it on at a profit; and the East India Company was therefore compelled temporarily to withdraw its factories from Amoy and Formosa, with the intention of concentrating them at Canton. At that port, however, they had to contend not only with the obstructions of the Chinese, but with the more or less covert opposition of the Portuguese; and for some years the two forces succeeded in excluding British trade from that part of China. In 1684,

however, the British established a foot-hold at Canton which they have never since quite lost. At the same time a renewed attempt was made to open trading relations at Amoy.

For a while the trade prospered, but again the exactions and restrictions of the officials became so oppressive that there was a danger of its being extinguished altogether. Sir John Davis in his *China*, speaking of this period, writes: "The Hoppo, chief commissioner of customs, in 1689 demanded 2484 taels, for the measurage (or port-charge) of the ship 'Defence,' but on finding that it would not be paid, he took 1500 taels. In the meantime one of the crew of the 'Defence' had killed a Chinese; and a tumult ensued in which several of the seamen and the surgeon of the ship lost their lives. Not satisfied with this, the mandarins declared that, unless 5000 taels were paid, the 'Defence' would not be allowed to sail; but when they had refused 2000, the captain quitted Canton, and took his ship out of the river. The present charges on a ship of about 800 tons in the port of Whampoa are very little short of 5000 dollars, or about £1000." But more than this; the mandarins began to tax heavily the exports and imports. They laid a duty of five shillings on every pound of tea exported to England, and treated other goods in the same hostile fashion. These obstructive measures proved to the East India Company the necessity of having an official representative who should be in a position to protect trade against the unreasonable exactions of the mandarins; and in 1699 they appointed Mr Catchpoole Consul and Minister for the whole of China and the neighbouring islands. At first it seemed possible that the new arrangement would be successful. Mr Catchpoole obtained permission to trade at Chusan or Ningpo, but here also the merchants were met by the same difficulty. Although an arrangement had been arrived at by which an uniform duty of 4 per cent. should be charged on all goods, the local authorities in defiance of the engagement demanded 16 per cent. on all imports, besides heavy harbour and tonnage

dues. In addition to these heavy charges, captains of vessels were called upon to pay large sums in order to induce purveyors to supply their ships. These exactions were accentuated by a system by which the right of trading with foreigners was confined to a company of merchants who, in return for this monopoly granted them by the mandarins, undertook to go security for the payment of duties and the good behaviour of the "foreign devils."

After numerous kickings against the pricks the foreign merchants made a collective appeal to the Governor of Canton to free them from these trammels; but, though for the moment some relief was afforded them, they soon after had to face an additional duty of 10 per cent. on all exports. Finding such serious impediments in the way of trading in China Mr Catchpoole established a factory on the island of Condor, which had been taken by the British from the Cochin Chinese, and for some few years carried on an intermittent trade with the mainland. But the Cochin Chinese had never resigned themselves to the loss of the island, and in 1705 on an opportunity occurring they instigated the Malay inhabitants to rise against the British. This they did, murdering the English traders and burning down the factory.

After her several futile attempts to open diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom, Russia gave up all thought of further action in that direction, and contented herself with pushing quietly eastwards, and taking advantage of every opportunity to advance her outposts. It happened that about this time the Eleuth chief Galdan practically declared war against China, and, being sufficiently well informed to know that the Russians might become powerful allies, he made overtures to them. News of these intrigues having reached Peking, the Emperor K'anghsi lost no time in despatching envoys, accompanied by the Jesuit missionaries Gerbillon and Pereira, to investigate the truth of the story. The report which these emissaries brought back made it plain to K'anghsi

that, if the advance of Russia was to be stopped, it would be necessary to march armies against the rebel Galdan and his proposed allies. Both expeditions were successful. The Russian advanced post of Albazin on the Amur was taken, and those of the garrison who were not slain were marched off to Peking to grace K'anghsi's triumph. By the efforts of Gerbillon and Pereira negotiations were opened between the opposing Powers; and in 1689 the treaty of Nerchinsk on the Amur was signed between Russia and China. This was the first treaty which China had signed with any Western Power. By its clauses it was agreed that Russia should retire from Albazin and Manchuria; that the line of frontier between the two empires should be the Daurian mountains; and that a free and unhampered trade should be permitted. Three years later Peter the Great sent Ysbrandt Ides to exchange the ratifications of this treaty at Peking. After a weary journey of nearly two years across the wilds of Central Asia the envoy reached the Chinese capital, where having performed the Kotow, as is positively stated by the Chinese and generally believed, he was admitted to an audience by K'anghsi, and effected the main object of his mission. Having once gained this foot-hold the Russians took pains to cultivate good relations with their new allies; and in 1709 another envoy, Ismailoff, appeared at Peking with instructions to arrange definite terms of trade with the Chinese government. Like his predecessors he was called upon to perform the Kotow before he was admitted into the Imperial presence, and he reconciled this humiliating process with his dignity by extracting from the Chinese government the promise that in return any Chinese envoy going to St Petersburg should there perform the usual obeisance current at that court.

Some years later the contingency then anticipated occurred. The Emperor K'anghsi was desirous of bringing back a tribe of Tourgouth Tartars, who, in order to escape the ever-recurring turmoil which disturbed the Mongol frontier of China, had

migrated into Russian territory across the steppes of the Kirghiz. In pursuance of this object he sent a Manchu, named Tulishen, with a despatch to the Khan of the wandering tribe proposing his return within the Chinese frontier. Tulishen executed this commission so satisfactorily, that in 1730 he was sent a second time to St Petersburg to make arrangements for the return of the tribe. But the Russians were as anxious to keep the immigrants as K'anghsi was to recover them; and the mission came to nothing at the time. It was not until the year 1771 that the men, women, and children of this tribe, to the number of 600,000, started homewards on that ill-starred journey which has been so graphically described by De Quincey.

Meanwhile, in 1727, Catherine I despatched Count Vladislavich on a mission to the Chinese capital. There he was well received by the Emperor Yung-chêng, who sanctioned the execution of a treaty by which the trade between the two empires was regulated, and the erection of a Russian church at Peking was permitted, with the establishment of a mission consisting of six ecclesiastical members, and four laymen, who were allowed to reside within the walls of the capital. But beyond these special privileges, the advantages gained by these and other negotiations were of little worth. The restrictions with which the Russian trade was hampered rendered it valueless. The caravans, which after many months of weary travel reached the frontier of China, were there met by a Chinese force, which escorted them to their caravanserai in Peking. There they were closely confined until they had disposed of their goods to a few traders who were permitted to deal with them, and in return they carried back to St Petersburg the offscourings of the shops, which they were compelled to buy at unremunerative rates. To all remonstrances against this system the Chinese turned a deaf ear, and asserted, as they have ever since alleged, that foreign trade had no attraction for the people, who were amply supplied with all the necessaries of

life from the products of their own country. If, however, foreigners thrust their trade upon them, they must conform to such regulations as the mandarins may lay down. This condition of affairs was so supremely unsatisfactory that the Russians determined to follow the route of the Western nations, and to open relations by sea. In this endeavour they were met by a positive and formal refusal on the part of the Chinese authorities, who truly enough affirmed that by the treaty signed at Peking an overland trade was alone contemplated, and that therefore by implication a sea traffic was prohibited.

CHAPTER II.

A SKETCH OF CHINA.

THE country which was thus brought into contact with Europe was a *terra incognita* to most people. A few students were acquainted with some of its characteristics from the writings of Marco Polo and others, but the vast majority of Europeans were in blissful ignorance of all but its name. The boundaries of the Empire in the sixteenth century were those of the present day, with the one exception, that with the advent of the present dynasty to power (in 1644) the three provinces of Manchuria were added to the realm. Now, as then, the provinces of China Proper stretch southwards from latitude 42° to 20°, and westward from 122° east longitude to 98°. The territory within these far-reaching boundaries covers an area of 1,553,935 square miles, and for the most part is eminently fertile. Cross-ways, the Empire is divided into two halves by the Yangtsze-kiang, which, rising in the table-land of Tibet, enters China in the province of Yunnan, and after traversing the Empire through its richest provinces, empties itself into the Yellow Sea in the neighbourhood of Shanghai. This division of the Empire receives emphasis from the fact that it coincides with a separation of the marked physical features of the country. To the northward of the lower course of the river, for a thousand miles or more, lies the great plain which stretches over the whole country, until it reaches the mountains beyond Peking. Over a vast area of this great level country lies a deep deposit of loess, a light friable soil, very

fertile when watered by temperate and plentiful rains, but in the times of drought too often barren and unproductive. It covers the country to the depth of several hundred feet, and has the peculiarity of cleaving vertically, so that roads and streams are often enclosed within high perpendicular cliffs which in some parts afford shelter to troglodytes, who find convenient dwelling-places in its easily worked and habitable banks. Loess is yellow in colour and being very light is readily borne down on the waters of the rivers which traverse the country it covers. The main river, the Hwangho, or Yellow River, is so named from the colour given to the stream by these deposits.

The upper valleys of the Hwangho and the Yangtsze-kiang are enclosed by high ranges of mountains which extend eastward from the plateaux of Tibet. In the case of the Yangtsze-kiang these ranges have so blocked and disturbed the current of the stream, that for at least 400 miles before the river debouches on the plain its waters are troubled by rapids which make navigation both difficult and dangerous. South of the Yangtsze-kiang the country is broken up by mountain ranges separating deep valleys—a condition of things which is illustrated by the fact that wheel traffic is unknown; horses, sedan-chairs or boats being the only means of locomotion at the disposal of travellers.

The vast extent of the Empire, which measures 1600 miles from north to south, explains the varieties of temperature experienced in its different areas. In the northern provinces the cold in winter is extreme, although Peking is in about the same latitude as Naples; and the rivers are fast bound in ice from the end of November to the beginning of March. In the southern provinces, on the other hand, frosts are never severe and snow is seldom seen.

The differences of climate naturally determine the natures of the crops; hardy grains being the staple produce of the northern provinces, while tea, camphor, mulberry, cotton and

other warm-country trees and shrubs appear and flourish in the south. As with the products, so with the people. The differences observable in the natives are very marked. In the north there is noticeable a strong admixture of Tartar blood in the national physiognomy. The high cheek-bones, the comparatively gaunt features and large frames, differentiate the inhabitants of the northern provinces from their southern fellow-countrymen, who are of a slighter build, and as a rule are smooth and round-featured.

The population of the country is very unevenly distributed. Some of the less fertile provinces, such as Kwei-chow and Yunnan, were credited in 1894 with numbers not much exceeding five or six millions each, while the rich districts of Kiang-su and Anhui were said to contain upwards of twenty-four and thirty-five million souls respectively. Although the populations in the inhabited districts of the southern provinces are more dense than in the north, their aggregate numbers are not so large, owing to the fact that the proportion of mountain lands is far greater south of the Yangtsze than north of it. A visitor to the city of Canton, seeing the teeming population in the streets and on the river, would naturally come to the conclusion that the province of Kwangtung must carry a larger population than, for example, the metropolitan province of Chihli, where the cities are not so crowded. But the greater number of villages goes far to redress the balance, as is shown by the statement that Chihli, with an area of about 60,000 square miles, was estimated in 1894 to possess a population of 29,400,000, while Kwangtung, with an area of 90,242 square miles, was at the same time credited with a population of only 29,900,000.

In the East social statistics are always vague. To Orientals their use does not appeal, and it is therefore necessary to accept with caution native statements on such matters as the population of the eighteen provinces. But European statisticians, on the basis of the most trustworthy information

obtainable, are agreed that it probably amounts to about 420,000,000.

The mountainous districts cover a large proportion of the area of the Empire; and, though none of the ranges are of great height, they are sufficiently obstructive to impede locomotion, and serve in many parts to form impenetrable barriers to traffic. In response to the requirements of the people the lower slopes of the hills are diligently cultivated in terrace formation, every inch of available ground being required for the supply of the daily food of the natives.

Though the soil, generally speaking, is rich and productive, the crops only partly represent the national wealth contained in the ground. Minerals abound beneath the surface. In the province of Shansi there exists, as is stated by the well-known geologist, Baron Richthofen, the largest coal-field in the world; while copper, tin and lead are found in large quantities in the provinces of Yunnan and Kwei-chow. Gold and silver also exist in the western provinces, and oil wells are not uncommon in Sze-ch'uan. How generally productive is the country may be judged from the fact that even under the present restricted condition of trade the value of the exports to foreign countries in 1902 amounted to no less a figure than 214,181,584 taels (a tael equals about 2*s.* 7*d.*). During the same period tea to the value of 22,085,864 taels was exported, and 78,212,207 taels worth of silk was shipped abroad.

These figures, large as they are, might be vastly increased if the government could be induced to adopt a more liberal policy towards foreign trade. Were a Chinese dynasty on the throne a more just appreciation of the requirements of the country might possibly be arrived at than that which now prevails. The Manchus, who conquered China in the seventeenth century, do not possess the same trading instincts that distinguish their vanquished fellow-subjects. Nor are they so open to conviction. It is true that their difficulties have been great. They came into power (1644) by force of arms over a people more highly

cultivated than their conquerors, and possessed of a high and ancient civilisation of which the conquerors only indirectly felt the reflex action. For many years previously hostilities had been intermittently carried on between Nurhachu, the Manchu chieftain, and China; but it was not until Nurhachu's grandson had succeeded to the chieftainship that fortune placed the long-desired prize in his hand. A rebellion which had broken out in China, headed by a certain leader named Li, gained such proportions and success that after but a feeble opposition the rebels captured and occupied Peking. In this emergency the Imperial general Wu Sankwei invited the Manchus to ally themselves with him in an attempt to recover the capital. To this they readily assented. The victory was easily won, and the Manchu leader, who held the reins of power during the minority of the grandson of Nurhachu, took possession of Peking. Having once, however, established himself in the Imperial city, he announced his intention of remaining there, and straightway proclaimed his nephew "the Son of Heaven," and the first Emperor of the Ta-Ts'ing ("Great Pure") dynasty. With considerable wisdom the Regent, and subsequently Shunchih, as the Emperor styled himself, adopted the system of government and the administrative machinery which had been endeared to the people by long usage.

The political sagacity which directed this policy was observable in all the measures adopted by the new rulers, who gained for themselves a large amount of support in the provinces by their wise and conciliatory attitude. After a reign of seventeen years Shunchih became "a guest on high," and his son K'anghsi reigned in his stead. The reign of this sovereign marks an epoch in the modern history of China. It extended over sixty years, and was characterised by a wise moderation and an administrative ability such as are rarely met with in the case of Eastern potentates.

K'anghsi found the country settling down after the disorder which had preceded and accompanied the change of dynasty,

and he devoted himself with whole-hearted energy to furthering the pacification of the land. To all who gave him loyal obedience he was a just and considerate ruler, while to the unruly and rebellious he was a minister of God for chastisement. Learned in all the wisdom of the Chinese, he patronised literature and was himself a voluminous writer. To him the nation is indebted for the standard dictionary of the language, while his poems and dissertations are distinguished by deep thought and graceful diction; and to him we owe the compilation of the most extensive printed book which the world has seen. The Encyclopædia which owes its existence to his command occupies 5020 volumes, and is a worthy monument of the nation's literature. His celebrated Sixteen Maxims, which were annotated by his son and successor Yung-chêng, are accepted as reflecting the highest wisdom, and are read in the hearing of the people on stated occasions, in all large cities. As is mentioned elsewhere, K'anghsi was liberal in his views towards foreigners; and under his sway missionaries and others enjoyed comparative liberty. His successor, Yung-chêng, was formed in a different mould. He refused to foreigners the freedom which they had lately enjoyed, and condemned not a few to chains and banishment. After twelve years of this reactionary rule Yung-chêng was gathered to his fathers; and K'ienlung, who emulated K'anghsi, among other things in the length of his reign, ascended the throne (1736–1795). In his love of literature also he resembled K'anghsi. His reception of Lord Macartney was an event of more than ordinary importance in the history of the Empire; and it was with universal regret that in 1795 he resigned his throne to his son Kiak'ing (1796–1820).

The succeeding rulers have not distinguished themselves in any way; and in the early "sixties" there seemed to be every probability that the dynasty would come to an end. The T'aip'ing rebellion was then at its height. Nanking, the second city of the Empire, was in the hands of the rebels; and, with the

exception of Tsêng Kwofan, no Imperial general seemed able to withstand them for a moment. The government was suffering under the discredit of having been vanquished by the allied forces of England and France. The secret societies were active, and the people were disaffected. No wonder that the old saying that 200 years was the natural length of a dynasty recurred to many; and there were not a few, and those some of the highest in the land, who confidently looked for its speedy fulfilment. The support of the foreign governments and the skill of Gordon averted this catastrophe and gave a new lease of life to the tottering Manchu line. What fate may be in store for it it is impossible to say, but at present its fortunes are certainly in the ascendant.

The government of the country has been described as a limited autocracy; and, if a wide interpretation be given to the word "limited," it may be allowed to stand. It was enunciated by the philosopher Mencius that "the people are the most important element in a nation, and the sovereign is the lightest"; and on this principle the State has been, and is to this day, governed theoretically. The Emperor is regarded as existing to promote the welfare of the people; and, so long as he continues to administer the law in righteousness, so long is he regarded as their rightful sovereign. When once, however, he falls short of this attitude, the people have a prescriptive right to dispossess him, and even, according to Mencius, to put him to death. He thus stands as a mediator between God and his people; and in the material condition of his subjects are supposed to be reflected his good and evil deeds. In times of drought and pestilence he humbles himself before the offended deity, and intercedes for the nation. Metaphorically he puts on sackcloth in public and officially recognises the hand of an angry god.

The expiatory offices on such occasions commonly take the form of an apologetic edict in the *Peking Gazette*, the offering of sacrifices at the Temple of Heaven, and the degradation of

the officials of the province or provinces in which the disaster has occurred. Theoretically the Emperor is autocratically supreme; but as a matter of fact the State is governed by a bureaucracy, for whose guidance the "Institutes of the Dynasty" provide regulations "by which every act of the Imperial government, from the daily movements of the sovereign to the conduct of the lowest official functionary, is strictly bound to be guided[1]."

To see that these regulations are duly carried out is the duty of the Peking government, whose object is rather that "of registering and checking the action of the various provincial administrations, than that of assuming a direct initiative in the conduct of affairs[2]." In order to carry out this limited form of government the Emperor is assisted by a Council of State, usually consisting of five officials who conduct the business of the Empire in the Imperial presence between 4 and 6 a.m. Associated with this Council is the Grand Secretariat, whose labours are lightened by the help of the Six Boards, viz. the Board of Civil Office, the Board of Revenue, the Board of Ceremonies, the Board of War, the Board of Punishments, and the Board of Works. After the war of 1860 a Foreign Office, commonly known as the Tsungli Yamên, which, since the Boxer outbreak, has been reorganised and converted into the Wai-wu-pu, was added; and quite recently a Board of Admiralty has been established.

The Empire is divided into eighteen provinces, to which are to be added the three provinces of Manchuria, whose fate is at this moment hanging in the balance. Outside these limits are the dependencies of Mongolia and Tibet. The government of Manchuria is organised on a more or less military basis. The eighteen provinces are ruled by Viceroys and Governors, whose territories are divided into prefectures, subprefectures, departments, and districts, which again are presided over by prefects and subordinate officials. No doubt

[1] *The Chinese Government*, by F. W. Mayers, p. iv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

under the Chinese government gross abuses occur, and peculation is rife; but at the same time the privileges of the people are guarded by the right which they practically possess of resisting any excessive curtailment of their freedom. An official who so oppresses people under him that they are driven to rise in rebellion against him is immediately removed from his post and punished. The code of laws in force is excellently devised, and provides penalties for every conceivable crime and offence. If only administered righteously it would meet every requirement and would combine justice with discretion.

The attitude of the educated classes towards religion is that concisely expressed by the Emperor Taokwang (1821–1850), when he wrote, "all religions are nonsense, but the silly people have always believed in ghosts and after-life, and therefore in order to conciliate popular feeling we are disposed to protect every belief, including Christianity, so long as there is no interference with the old-established customs of the State[1]." The religions nominally prevailing are Confucianism, which is professed by the scholarly class, and Buddhism and Taoism, which are the faiths of the superstitious among the people. Practically there are no lines separating these cults, but each borrows from the other, until it may fairly be said that ninety-nine Chinamen out of a hundred pin such faith as they possess to a mixture of all three. The Buddhist and Taoist priests are a degraded class and are completely ignorant of the higher aspects of the faiths which they profess, substituting for spiritual instruction necromancy, fortune-telling, and meaningless rites. The one worship which the people observe conscientiously is the worship of their ancestors. With deep conviction they believe that the life of the individual is merely "a link in the endless family chain," and that it behoves every man, therefore, to leave behind him a son to carry on the family succession and to offer the prescribed sacrifices at the ancestral tombs. Quite apart from these faiths, the Emperor, and he

[1] *China, Past and Present*, by E. H. Parker, p. 90.

alone, as representing the Empire, offers solemn worship on stated occasions to the Supreme Deity at the Temple of Heaven. In the centre of a raised circular terrace, amid spacious and sacred surroundings, he kneels alone and implores the blessing of the Almighty on the nation, accompanying the prayers with propitiatory sacrifice of a whole burnt-offering.

Mahomedanism and Christianity claim recognition among the religions of China. Among the Chinese Islamism has never made much headway, but has been tolerated as being a non-proselytising faith. With Christianity the position is different. Although Taokwang and other liberal or indifferent sovereigns have ignored its existence, the zeal of the missionaries, and occasionally their injudicious conduct, have, at all events in the past, alienated the sympathies of the ruling classes from them. The Boxer outbreak, which wrought such havoc among them and their converts, has resulted in a more just appreciation, on the part of the Chinese, of their motives and conduct than they formerly possessed; and the noble way in which the converts accepted martyrdom rather than deny their new faith disposes once for all of the charges so freely brought against them of insincerity and self-seeking. It is to be regretted that the Roman Catholic missionaries have lately accepted official rank, which, while adding no real dignity to them, tends to arouse the jealousy of the mandarins and the antagonism of the people.

As is natural, the customs of the people are largely directed by their religious faiths. They believe themselves to be surrounded by hosts of spirits, and their acts and efforts are mainly directed towards so propitiating the favourable deities, and warding off those who might do them evil, as to promote the divine harmony which should exist in the universe. They build walls opposite their front doors to keep out evil influences, and they choose sites for their graveyards and houses on the same principle. They propitiate the spring by forming processions to meet the season, symbolised by a young lad gaily dressed, at the eastern gate of their cities. They marry young,

and in some cases often, in order to secure male offspring who may offer sacrifices at the ancestral tombs; and occasionally they attempt to deceive the spirits by so disguising an only son in the semblance of a girl that any demon maliciously bent on destroying the hope of the family may be diverted from its purpose.

The Chinese recognise four classes of society, namely, scholars, farmers, mechanics, and traders. But practically the constituents are officials and people. There is no hereditary aristocracy except in the case of a very few families whose ancestors have done notable deeds in their country's cause, nor are there persons resembling country gentlemen. There is nothing to fill the gap which separates the two classes of the community; there are no modifying influences existing between them, such as are found in Western lands; and the country suffers in consequence. The mandarin class has been called an aristocracy of talent, and so it is. Theoretically a man can only reach its ranks by passing a succession of examinations which prove him to be learned in all the wisdom of the ancients. The circle of knowledge required is narrow, but so much the more is it thorough. It is always easier to remember than to think; and by the help of naturally tenacious memories, perfected by exercise, young and ripe scholars face their examiners thoroughly possessed of every subject which can be presented to them. As a rule it may be said that the administration of these men is just and considerate; and, precisely as the supreme government confines its attention to supervising the administration of the provincial authorities, so the local officials strive simply to see that, in quiet times, the town and village elders govern the people in harmony with their traditions. It is only when these are outraged that the official hand is observable. Thus the country is to a certain extent self-governing; and with much wisdom the people are allowed full latitude in the arrangement of their own affairs, and in the performance of their social and clannish customs, so long as they do not come into conflict with the laws of the State.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRADE AT CANTON.

It is doubtful whether the refusal (in the eighteenth century) to allow the Russians to trade at Canton inflicted any loss on them, for nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the condition of commercial affairs at Canton. The British, who with national tenacity were persisting in their endeavours to maintain a trade, were met by every obstacle that it was in the power of the mandarins to present. In 1734 the East India Company despatched the *Harrison* to Canton, and the *Grafton* to Amoy, both laden with merchandise; but the commanders of these vessels were met by such exorbitant demands in the way of duties that the traffic, as was intended by the Chinese, was profitless. At Canton an extra duty of 20 per cent. was imposed on all foreign goods entering the country, and the perquisites claimed by the officials reached almost beyond the dreams of avarice. Being unwilling, however, to yield in the struggle, the Company, in 1736, sent the *Normanton* to Ningpo, but with no better success. But, though the extortions demanded by the Chinese were exorbitant, there was still enough prospective profit to induce foreigners of different nationalities to apply for admission to the great market of China; and we find that in this year (1736) four English ships, two French, two Dutch, one Danish, and one Swedish visited Canton.

In one notable respect the prospect brightened at this time. The Emperor, Yung-chêng, who had been opposed to the idea of granting any privileges, was gathered to his fathers in 1735;

and K'ienlung, a man whose name will ever be associated with the most enlightened period of the present dynasty, ascended the throne. One of his first acts was to remit the extra 16 per cent. duty which had been imposed on foreign trade by the Hoppo at Canton; and throughout his long reign he always showed a liberal spirit with regard to all such questions in dispute as were submitted to him. Unhappily very little information on the position of affairs at Canton was allowed to reach Peking; and the local officials, tempted by the rich harvest within their reach, imposed every exaction on the trade that they found it would bear. With the object of relieving the oppression the East India Company sent H.M.S. *Centurion*, under the command of Commodore Anson, to Canton. The presence for the first time of a man-of-war in Chinese waters had its influence on the mandarins; and Anson was a man who was admirably fitted to make this influence felt. He brushed aside the objections raised to his coming up to Canton, and presented himself before the Governor before that official had time to obstruct his arrival. To all difficulties on the subject of supplies he returned answer that he should stay until he got them; and the Governor, like all Chinamen when fairly encountered, yielded to this determined course. While the *Centurion* was in harbour a fierce fire broke out in the city; and with the ready skill which has always distinguished British sailors, the men from the ship earned the gratitude of the officials by helping most materially in extinguishing the flames. In all respects the visit of the *Centurion* was a success, and it was due to this event that for a time at least the arbitrary exactions imposed on trade were relaxed.

At this time it was customary for the Spanish authorities to despatch annually a galleon laden with the rich products of Mexico, from Acapulco to Manila; and, as war existed between Spain and Great Britain, Captain Anson determined to intercept the vessel which was then due. He therefore set sail

from Canton and, after having captured his prize, took her back into the harbour. To this proceeding the Chinese raised strong objections. Before they acquired the art which they now possess of playing off one nation against another, there was nothing they so much feared as being drawn into international complications. They, therefore, vigorously protested against Captain Anson's action; but that officer turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and disposed of his prize without any active interference from them. They, however, threw every obstacle in their power in the way of his obtaining his necessary supplies; and it was not until he had threatened personally to appeal to the Viceroy of the province that they withdrew their opposition.

International relations at Canton were in so unsatisfactory a condition that the East India Company determined to make an effort to establish a trade at Ningpo, and ordered one of their officials, Mr Flint, to proceed to that port. This he did, but only to find that the exactions on trade there imposed were even heavier than those of which the Canton merchants complained. In these circumstances Mr Flint conceived the bold project of appealing to the Emperor in person, and with this object he took passage in a native junk to Tientsin, from which city he forwarded a memorial to the throne. A speedy answer was returned, ordering him to return overland at once to Canton under the escort of a mandarin, and promising that he should there receive a reply to his prayer. On arrival he was imprisoned for a time, and was subsequently ordered to appear before the Viceroy. On the issue of this command the supercargoes, or representatives of the Company, announced their intention of accompanying him to the Yamên. To this the Viceroy objected, but the supercargoes threatened to stop the trade if their request to appear were not complied with. As the local officials had for years been reaping rich harvests from the foreign trade, the Viceroy was unwilling to do anything which would stop his supplies, and he therefore

yielded. On the day appointed Flint and the supercargoes presented themselves at the Yamên, and were with haste and almost violence thrust into the Viceroy's court, where every effort was made to force them to Kotow. This they vigorously resisted; and the Viceroy, seeing that they were determined not to yield, ordered his myrmidons to desist from their endeavours. He then beckoned Flint to come forward, and, pointing to a paper which he said was an Imperial rescript, he announced that the Emperor had decreed that the adventurous foreigner should be imprisoned at Macao for three years, at the end of which time he should be deported to England. At the same time he incidentally remarked that the Chinaman who had penned the memorial which had been presented to the Emperor had been condemned to be beheaded. The sentence on Flint was carried out to the letter, but his exertions did not prove fruitless; for shortly after his return from the north an Imperial order was received remitting all impositions on imports except a 6 per cent. duty and the sum of 1950 taels, which it had become customary to levy on every ship entering the port. Simultaneously it was decreed that all foreign trade should be restricted to Canton.

This outcome of events did not, however, satisfy the Company; and in 1760 they sent a Captain Skottowe, of the *Royal George*, to Canton as their representative, with orders to try to induce the local authorities to deal more liberally with foreign traders. More especially he was to urge the abolition of the tax of 1950 taels on every trading vessel entering the port, with the 6 per cent. duty on imports and the 2 per cent. payable personally to the Hoppo, or Superintendent of Customs; to advocate the right of traders to pay their own duties direct instead of through the Committee of native merchants; and to insist on their admittance when necessary to audiences with the Hoppo, with a right of appeal to the Viceroy. This mission succeeded no better than those which had preceded it; and the Company were fain to be content with establishing the

supercargoes as permanent guardians of the rights of their countrymen. One of the main evils of which the merchants complained was the system by which they were forbidden to trade with any except certain recognised native dealers, who rigged the market as they chose, and, while filling their own pockets, kept the profits due to the foreigners at the lowest possible level compatible with the continuance of the traffic. After endless negotiations the Chinese authorities agreed that this system should cease; and it was finally abolished in 1771, but not until the sum of 100,000 taels had been distributed in bribes to the mandarins and their followers.

The growth of trade gave a more than local interest to everything connected with China; and about this time the Royal Society was moved to enquire as to the nature of the language spoken by those three hundred millions of the human race. It was conjectured that it was in some remote degree related to the ancient Egyptian, and a number of interrogatories were sent out to Canton on the subject. No result came of these investigations, mainly because the interdict which the Chinese had placed on foreigners learning the language had been so strictly observed that there was no one who was able to offer an opinion in the matter. It was not only in the case of the language that foreigners were kept in bondage. The settlement in which they lived was strictly defined; and they were not allowed to wander outside its limits except under conditions which made it more tolerable to remain within its boundaries. Married men were not allowed to bring their wives into residence, but were compelled to lodge them at Macao, whither the husbands were permitted to go only on receiving a permit and paying a fine. In every respect the foreigners were under great and vexatious disabilities. Their power of recovering debts from the natives was practically *nil*; and, though frequent demands were made to the Hoppo that the law should be enforced in such matters, nothing was done until, a statement of the facts having reached Peking, an

Imperial edict was received, ordering that all moneys due to foreigners should at once be paid, and providing that all dealings between foreigners and natives should be carried on through certain mandarins, who were to be especially appointed for the purpose.

According to the Chinese view, which, it must be allowed, was perfectly natural, no law was applicable in China except Chinese law; and it was contended on their part that foreigners were only allowed to reside at Canton on this condition. Several cases occurred about this time (1780) which emphasised this position. A Frenchman happening to kill a Portuguese in a scuffle, the Chinese demanded his surrender for trial. After some time the man was given up by the French consul and was publicly strangled. Subsequently the surrender of an English gunner who had accidentally killed a Chinaman in firing a salute on board the *Lady Hughes*, an East Indiaman, was claimed by the Chinese and was refused by the English authorities. Long negotiations succeeded, and by cajolery the supercargo of the ship was enticed into the city on the pretext of hearing his evidence in the matter, and was practically made a prisoner, though treated with every consideration. So completely was the farce kept up that the man was induced to believe that the only object which the mandarins had in desiring the presence of the gunner was to gain his account of the facts. In an evil moment the supercargo was induced to write to the British authorities urging that the man should be sent into the city. This was done, and after a form of trial the unfortunate gunner was condemned and suffered death by strangulation. This was, happily, the solitary instance in which an Englishman was ever handed over for trial and punishment to the Chinese. It is only fair to say that in a rough and ready way they meted out the same measure of justice or injustice in cases in which their own countrymen were involved. A Chinaman who, about this time (1784), killed an English sailor in a scuffle

at Whampoa suffered the same penalty as that which the gunner had paid.

The almost Imperial position which the East India Company had assumed, consequent on the victories of Clive and Warren Hastings, disinclined the British government to submit to the derogatory conditions under which their fellow-subjects carried on business at Canton; and they determined to send a special ambassador who should proceed to Peking and attempt to break through the isolation with which the Imperial court surrounded itself. In 1788 they appointed Colonel Cathcart for the purpose; but unfortunately he died on the voyage out. Four years later their choice fell on Lord Macartney, who embarked in H.M.S. *Lion*, and arrived off the coast of China in the spring of the following year. Notice of his arrival having been received by the Chinese, they showed every disposition to receive him with courtesy. There can be no doubt that the recent course of events in India had made a strong impression on the Chinese. They recognised that the English were a vigorous and aggressive nation, one which it would not do to trifle with; and they determined therefore that their best policy was to show every civility to the nation's representative, but to yield his countrymen no foot-hold on Chinese soil. In obedience to this policy every facility was offered to Lord Macartney on his way to the capital. Pilots guided his ships along the coasts, and officials greeted him at the ports at which they touched. At Taku the ambassador was met by Imperial commissioners, who brought stores of food for the embassy, and vessels to convey them to T'ung-chow, the port of Peking. At Tientsin, on their way up the Peiho, they were entertained at feasts and by a succession of theatricals. But, though every attention was thus lavished upon them, no opportunity was missed of demonstrating in the eyes of the people the inferiority of the visitors. The flags which waved from the masts of their junks bore the legend, "Tribute-bearers from the country of England"; and in season and out of season the

commissioners urged on the ambassador the necessity of his performing the Kotow on his being admitted into the Imperial presence. To this proposal Lord Macartney, acting on instructions, returned a persistent refusal. He was aware that the Dutch had yielded on this point, and knew that they had gained nothing but increased contempt by the concession. He, however, made a suggestion to the Chinese. He offered that if a mandarin of equal rank with himself would perform the Kotow before the picture of George III, which he was carrying to Peking as a present to the Emperor, he would bow down in the same manner before the Son of Heaven. The proposition was a fair one and argued an equality of the two nations; but this was exactly the point which the Chinese did not desire to see demonstrated, and the offer was declined. On the matter being referred to K'ienlung, he consented that Lord Macartney should, on being admitted into his presence, perform precisely the same obeisance as he would before his own sovereign.

On this understanding Lord Macartney proceeded to Peking. On arriving at the capital, however, he found that the Emperor had retired to his hunting palace at Jehol in Tartary. After some delay, therefore, during which he arranged the more bulky presents which he had brought from his sovereign in the palace halls, he started (Sept. 2, 1793) northwards, and in due course arrived at Jehol. There, in company with Mongol and other chieftains, he was received by the Emperor in the garden of his palace, and was entertained at a feast during which the Emperor, in token of his favour, repeatedly sent him dishes from his own table, and in every way was gracious to him. During his stay he was well treated, but was so carefully watched that it resembled rather a captivity than a visit. His audience not having advanced the cause of his mission, and the Imperial commissioners showing a decided disinclination to discuss terms, he notified his intention of returning to Peking. On arriving at the capital he

found that the members of his staff whom he had left behind had endured a veritable imprisonment. They had not been allowed to leave the building in which they were lodged; and the Roman Catholic missionaries, who had at first visited them, had ceased to do so at the bidding of the mandarins. A strict system of espionage was constantly maintained over the ambassador's movements, although in other respects every civility was shown him.

Before the conclusion of his stay the Emperor arrived; and he was granted another audience at which compliments were exchanged. Finally he took his departure, and travelled by the Grand Canal southwards, and so overland to Canton. During his journey he was constantly attended by mandarins appointed for the purpose, and when travelling by water was only occasionally allowed to leave his boats. For a considerable portion of the route the Viceroy of Canton was his companion, and showed a disposition to act in a friendly spirit towards him and his countrymen. In interviews with this official Lord Macartney urged the claims of the British merchants for more considerate treatment than had hitherto been accorded to them, and received in reply a promise that their rights should be granted to them. Unhappily the more liberal intentions of the Viceroy were considerably modified on his arrival by the influence of the local mandarins; and, though some alleviation was granted to the merchants, their principal wrongs were left unredressed. Although his mission disappointed the hopes which had been formed of its possible results, it was not without its advantages. It was the first mission which had been received with any approach to recognition of international equality, and it acquainted the Emperor and his entourage with the fact that Europeans were not the "barbarians" that they had been accustomed to consider them. Nothing, however, in the nature of a treaty was considered for a moment by the Chinese; and all that could be extracted from the Emperor's advisers was the expression of a kindly feeling towards the foreigners.

In reply to the King's letter a despatch was handed to Lord Macartney by the Emperor which is thoroughly indicative of the haughty attitude of the government towards Europeans. After stating that "Your merchants must conform to the usual rate for right of anchorage at Canton," he went on to say, "As the requests made by your ambassador militate against the laws and usages of this our Empire, and are at the same time wholly useless for the end proposed, I cannot acquiesce in them. I again admonish you, O King, to act conformably to my instructions, that we may preserve peace and amity on each side, and thereby contribute to our reciprocal happiness. After this, my solemn warning, should your Majesty in persuance of your ambassador's demands fit out ships in order to attempt to trade either at Ningpo, Chusan, Tientsin, or other places, as our laws are exceedingly severe, in such a case I shall be under the necessity of directing my mandarins to force your ships to quit these ports, and thus the increased trouble and exertions of your merchants would at once be frustrated. You will not then, however, be able to complain that I have not clearly forewarned you. Let us, therefore, live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words. For this reason I have thus repeatedly and earnestly written to you upon this subject[1]."

This letter clearly indicates the attitude of the Chinese then and afterwards towards Europeans. There is a certain amount of tolerance accorded to them, but it is at the expense of their rights and dignity. The Emperor in his dealings with foreigners has always assumed an attitude of superiority; and even at the present time our claim to equality as a nation is grudgingly acknowledged in our presence and is denied when our backs are turned.

For some time after Lord Macartney's mission things went more smoothly at Canton. The ambassador's intercourse with the Viceroy of Canton had produced a favourable impression

[1] *China*, by Peter Auber, p. 199.

on that mandarin; and he voluntarily mitigated some of the more pressing evils under which foreigners were suffering at his capital. An instance of this change of attitude occurred in the case in which the officer of the watch on board H.M.S. *Providence*, believing that two Chinamen in a boat were trying to cut the cable of the vessel, fired at them, wounding one and so terrifying the other that he jumped overboard and was drowned. On the facts becoming known the Chinese demanded the surrender of the officer who fired the shot. On this demand being refused, and the circumstances being explained to the Viceroy, that official agreed that on payment of a small gratuity to the relations of the two men the incident should be considered closed. In other parts of the country a change of feeling towards foreigners was observable. Some shipwrecked English sailors, who were thrown on shore on the Fuhkien coast (1799), were most kindly and hospitably treated by the local mandarins, who escorted them to Canton, and handed them over to the British authorities at that port.

At this period all foreign interests in China had gradually become merged in those of Great Britain; but the profitable nature of the trade now began to draw people of other nationalities in increasing numbers to this point of attraction. More especially was this the case with Americans, who, with that trading instinct which belongs to the Anglo-Saxon blood, had gradually advanced their position in the settlement at Canton; and in 1801 the Stars and Stripes were first flown over their warehouses.

But though there now existed a better understanding between foreigners and the Chinese authorities, friction constantly arose from various causes, especially the international entanglements of Europe. The war between England and France, leading, as it did to collisions off the China coast, gave rise to many expostulations and repeated threats to close the trade. On one occasion a French squadron attacked a British ship which was convoying the merchant fleet from

Canton homewards. The value of the cargoes was reckoned at sixteen millions sterling; and the French made a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt to secure the prize. That such an engagement should take place in Chinese waters was in the opinion of the mandarins an outrage on their dignity; and with lofty contempt the Viceroy pronounced that if these States had any quarrel between themselves they should settle it on the spot and not implicate other nations in their petty squabbles. But a still more serious difficulty arose when Admiral Drury in 1808 landed a force at Macao to prevent an approaching French fleet from occupying that port. The Viceroy at once entered a vigorous protest against this occupation of Chinese soil, and threatened that unless the force were withdrawn the foreign trade at Canton would be stopped. Much as the admiral desired to support the merchants, he conceived that the political considerations were of more importance than the trade, and he therefore declined to re-embark his men. After long discussions the Viceroy carried out his threat; and no ship was allowed to leave the port, nor was any trade permitted. Happily, however, the position soon became modified, and the admiral was able to withdraw his men, which was a signal for the resumption of trade.

It is noteworthy that although the officials constantly held out the stoppage of trade as a threat, they and the native merchants at Canton were quite as anxious as the foreign traders that there should be no suspension of the commerce. The profits, both to mandarins and merchants, were far too considerable to be allowed to lapse. Thus it came about that, in all cases where the foreigners stood firm, the Chinese found means of removing the embargo on trade by some of those compromises in which they excel, and by which they manage to "save their face." Accidents repeatedly occurred in which Chinamen lost their lives, sometimes by their own fault; and in these cases, at the time of which we speak, though the trade was suspended for a season, the matter invariably ended

with the infliction of a slight penalty on the foreigner and the payment of an indemnity to the surviving relatives.

The disturbed condition of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century was reflected even at Canton; and the authorities showed a marked determination to have nothing to do with the international quarrels. They resented vehemently any act of war being committed within the China waters, or even prizes of war being brought into their harbours. A case of this kind arose when H.M.S. *Doris* (1813) captured the *Hunter*, an American vessel, on the high seas and carried it captive to Macao. The Viceroy at once protested and ordered the expulsion of the *Doris*. But the captain refused to be unduly hurried, and after the exchange of some strongly worded communications took his departure in the ordinary course. At this time there were several acts of which the foreigners and especially the British had to complain. A linguist who had been sent to Peking with presents from the British government to a certain mandarin at the capital, in acknowledgement of the services he had rendered to Lord Macartney, was seized and imprisoned on the way, and the box containing the gifts was confiscated. Sir George Staunton, upon this, was sent to Canton to expostulate, and not getting any satisfaction he left the port and broke off negotiations. This action, as has usually been the case in China in similar instances, brought the mandarins to a more reasonable state of mind; and the dispute ended by Sir G. Staunton presenting a series of demands which the mandarins yielded. The main points of this convention were that foreigners were to have the right of speaking and writing Chinese in their communications with the authorities; that no expressions disrespectful to foreigners were to be made use of towards them; that the mandarins were not to have the right of inspecting the factories whenever they chose; that boats were not to be arbitrarily detained; and that foreigners should be allowed to employ native servants.

The fact that it had become necessary to draw up a convention in order to secure such very elementary international rights is sufficient to indicate the very unsatisfactory footing on which foreigners stood in China less than a century ago. So unsatisfactory did it appear to the members of the India Board and the Court of Directors that those bodies appealed to the government to appoint a special ambassador to the court of Peking who should lay before the Emperor a plain statement of the grievances under which foreigners laboured in the country. The Ministry agreed to the proposal, and the choice of the Prince Regent fell upon Lord Amherst, who was instructed to press the Emperor for the "removal of the grievances which had been experienced, and for an exemption from them and others of the like nature for the time to come, with the establishment of the Company's trade upon a secure, solid, equitable footing, free from the capricious, arbitrary aggressions of the local authorities, and under the protection of the Emperor and the sanction of regulations to be drawn up by himself." Armed with these suggestions Lord Amherst embarked at Spithead on board H.M.S. *Alceste* on February 8, 1816. After a successful voyage he arrived off Taku at the mouth of the Peiho on July 28. After some little delay he landed and was escorted by Imperial commissioners to Tientsin, when among the first questions discussed was the perennial topic of the Kotow. On this point Lord Amherst, as might have been expected, would listen to no cajoleries; and the only concession that he suggested was that he would perform the Kotow before the Emperor if the Emperor would agree that in the event of any Chinese minister coming to England he should do the same in the presence of the British sovereign. This proposal was declined; and amid frequent discussions, which the commissioners forced on the British minister with considerable rudeness, the advance was made to the capital. On reaching the walls of Peking Lord Amherst was conducted outside the city to the summer palace, where the Emperor was residing.

No sooner had the embassy reached the palace than a message was received commanding the immediate appearance of the ambassador in the Imperial presence. To this brusque order Lord Amherst naturally demurred, pointing out that he was too fatigued and travel-stained to present himself. The reply to his refusal was an order for the instant departure of the embassy; and on the afternoon of the same day on which they had arrived they were hurried off to T'ung-chow on their way to Canton. Throughout this long and tedious journey every courtesy was shown to the ambassador, and he reached Canton on January 1, 1817. Here he was overtaken by a letter addressed by the Emperor to the Prince Regent, in which with that lofty condescension that Chinese Emperors used to assume towards foreigners, he wrote: "Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an ambassador so far, and to be at the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing seas.... I therefore send down my pleasure to expel these ambassadors and send them back to their own country without punishing the high crime they have committed[1]."

It is possible that the attitude then assumed by the Emperor Kiak'ing may be partly attributed to the echoes of a dispute between the government of India and himself with regard to the State of Nipal, which originated in the occupation by the Gurkhas of certain lands belonging to the government of India. Knowing how futile would be the attempt to oppose the Indian government single-handed, the Rajah addressed himself to his liege lord the Emperor of China, whom he urged to despatch at once an army of 200,000 men, and enforced his plea by the statement that the attack on Nipal was only a preliminary step to the invasion of Bhutan, Tibet, and China. Kiak'ing refrained from sending the required help, but was loud in his disapproval of the tone and language which the Marquis of Hastings adopted towards him, and especially resented the proposal that he should appoint a

[1] *China*, by R. Montgomery Martin, Vol. II. p. 23.

Resident in Nipal with whom the Indian government could negotiate when difficulties arose. He, however, sent three Chinese officials to the scene of the dispute, through whose instrumentality the quarrel was settled and peace was restored.

It was hardly to be expected that after the dismissal of Lord Amherst and the Nipal difficulty matters would go smoothly at Canton. On several occasions local breaches of the peace occurred; and in one instance a boat's crew of H.M.S. *Topaze* was attacked by Chinese soldiers, who wounded fourteen of the sailors. The old restrictions which had limited the freedom of the foreign merchants were now rigorously enforced, and one such which had always constituted a grievance was applied more strenuously than ever. For some occult reason, possibly to discourage the idea of residence, the Chinese officials had always insisted, as has already been mentioned, that married foreigners should not be allowed to bring their wives to Canton. The result was that these exiled ladies were obliged to live at Macao, and that their husbands when desirous of visiting them were compelled to purchase a passport at the cost of from 300 to 400 dollars, besides expending about 40 dollars for boat hire. For years this oppression had been more or less quietly borne, but at last it was felt to be unendurable; and it was determined that one of their number should make a protest before the local authorities. A Mr Matheson volunteered to bell the cat. At the risk of his life he forced his way to the Viceroy's yamên and delivered his protest. In reply it was more than hinted to him that he richly deserved to lose his head for his boldness, but at the same time his request was granted, and for a time European ladies were allowed to come and go as they pleased. A few years later, however (1830), the Chinese attempted to renew the former prohibition, but the foreigners landed sailors from the ships to guard their houses, and the Chinese sought the line of least resistance by quietly ignoring the infringement of their order.

During recent years the foreign community had consisted almost entirely of British and American subjects. In 1806 the Russians had attempted to open a trade at Canton, and sent the circumnavigator Krusenstern with a shipload of goods into the Canton waters. He succeeded in selling his goods and reloading his ship before the inevitable order was received from Peking to detain the vessel. "Though barbarians," wrote the Emperor, "are accustomed to frequent the port of Canton, the name of the Russians has never been observed among them; wherefore their sudden appearance at this time cannot be considered otherwise than very extraordinary. How have the Russians who trade by way of Kiachta and have never visited Canton been able to navigate their ships, or how have they become acquainted with the shoals and islands in their way from Russia?"

The appearance of this edict summarily brought to a close the attempt of the Russians to open trade in South China. The French were more fortunate. In 1802 they hoisted the tricolour at Canton, though it was not until 1829 that a consulate was established and recognised by the local authorities. In the interval they traded, however, and were able to make themselves heard when occasion arose, as for instance in the case of the massacre by the Chinese of the crew of the *Navigateur* (1828), when seventeen of the murderers were executed on the demand of the French authorities.

It was about this time that the opium question first began to take shape. For many centuries the Chinese had been accustomed to use the drug; and the importations from India were merely additions to the stocks on sale. For a long time, however, edicts had been fulminated against the foreign traffic, and the trade was declared to be illicit. Notwithstanding this it had been carried on at Canton without much attempt at concealment and with perfect impunity until about 1830, when a newly-arrived Viceroy determined to distinguish himself by putting an end to it. With this intention he

ordered the opium vessels to leave the Whampoa anchorage. This they did, and removed to a safer anchorage off Lintin, in the Canton river. Here they were allowed to remain, though the Viceroy claimed and acquired credit at Peking for having extirpated the traffic. Being a reformer, it is possible that he might have followed up the smugglers had it not been that on investigation he found that the traffic was mainly conducted by his fellow-mandarins, and that the preventive boats were the main carriers of the prohibited drug.

The local feeling was, therefore, too strong for the Viceroy, and besides he had other matters to engage his attention. A rebellion broke out in the province of Canton; and so little was he able to cope with the evil that after a certain period he was removed from his office and banished to Tartary.

In the meantime the tide which had turned against foreigners after the Amherst fiasco continued to increase in force. The old regulations, which had been considered very oppressive, were added to and intensified. A new set of laws was issued by the Chinese authorities by which it was decreed that merchants were not to remain at Canton during the winter, but were either to go home with their ships, or to take up their residence at Macao; that all foreign women who ventured to come to Canton were to be prosecuted; that all traitorous chair-bearers who should dare to carry foreigners were to be severely punished; and that not more than three foreigners were to present any petition at the city gates. The imposition of these further restrictions on their liberty was strenuously resisted by the foreign community, who left the foreign settlement as a protest against them.

This sign of independence was, however, condemned by the Court of the East India Company, who considered that the money advantages of the trade were of primary importance, and had little consideration for the comfort and personal well-being of the merchants. With that ready intuition which belongs to the Chinese, the officials at Canton became

instantly aware of the attitude assumed by the Court of Directors, and felt quite at liberty still further to harass the unfortunate traders, who were thus handed over to their tender mercies. The natural results followed. The violence of the mandarins grew more and more aggressive, and the condition of the merchants became less and less endurable. At length the mandarins proceeded to outrages; and Mr Innes, one of the leading British merchants, was dangerously wounded when paying a visit to the Hoppo, or chief of the customs, who offered neither redress nor apology.

Possibly from a desire to show the Canton authorities that they were not entirely dependent on them, the foreign merchants made an effort to open up trade with some of the northern parts of the Empire. Here again they were met by the opposition of the Court of Directors, whose one aim was not to quarrel with the Chinese officials. Lord William Bentinck, the Viceroy of India, took a juster view of the position, and wrote a strong but temperate letter to the Governor of Canton, in which he protested against the injuries and insults which had been daily heaped on the foreign residents. As an instance of the insults which had been offered to the English nation he reminded the Governor that one of his predecessors had on one occasion broken into the factories at the head of a rabble, and having had a chair placed before the portrait of the King of England turned it with its back to the picture and deliberately sat upon it in that position to mark his contempt for the English nation.

At this time (1833) matters had reached such a pitch that the British government determined to send out a Superintendent of Trade who would have, it was thought, sufficient weight and authority to deal directly with the higher provincial authorities. For this post Lord Napier was chosen. In giving him his instructions Lord Palmerston wrote, "Your Lordship will announce your arrival at Canton by letters to the Viceroy. In addition to the duty of protecting and

fostering the trade at Canton, it will be one of your principal objects to ascertain whether it may not be practicable to extend that trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions. It is obvious that with a view to the attainment of this object the establishment of direct communication with the Imperial court of Peking would be desirable[1]."

Unfortunately Lord Napier arrived at Canton at night, a fact which was perverted by the Chinese into a statement that he had clandestinely stolen into the city. This was indicative of the spirit in which they received him. His letter to the Governor announcing his arrival was contemptuously rejected; and notices were issued denouncing him as "a barbarian eye" or headman, and as a foreign devil, and ordering him to leave the port. To clinch the matter the Governor published a proclamation in which he wrote, "A lawless foreign slave, Napier, has issued a notice. We know not how such a dog barbarian of an outside nation as you can have the presumption to call yourself Superintendent. Being an outside savage Superintendent, and a person in an official situation, you should have some knowledge of propriety and law. You have crossed 10,000 miles in order to seek a livelihood; you have come to our Celestial Empire to trade and control affairs; can you not obey the regulations of the Empire? You presume to break through the barrier passes, going out and in at your pleasure, a great infringement of the rules and prohibitions. According to the laws of the nation, the royal warrant should be respectfully requested to behead you, and to expose your head publicly to the multitude, as a terror to perverse dispositions[2]."

With the appointment of Lord Napier the East India Company administration came to a close. During the preceding year Mr Grant, the President of the India Board, carried a Bill through the House of Commons, by which it was enacted "that it should be lawful for his Majesty, by

[1] *Accounts and Papers, China*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 4.

[2] *China*, by R. Montgomery Martin, Vol. II. p. 32.

commission under his royal sign-manual, to appoint not exceeding three Superintendents of the Trades of his Majesty's subjects in China, and to give to such Superintendents certain powers and authorities." It was this official position thus created against which the Chinese protested. Had Lord Napier been content to deal with the Hong traders, or committee of native merchants with which the Company had been accustomed to communicate, and had been ready to call his written communications "Petitions," and not "Letters," the mandarins would have permitted his presence. But with the new order of things it had become necessary to take up a more dignified attitude; and Lord Napier from the first refused to agree to anything which was derogatory to his government. The result was that the trade was stopped and the foreign merchants were told to apply to England for the appointment of a Taipan, or manager, who would be willing to transact business with the Hong traders.

Meanwhile the Governor of Canton informed the Emperor of the arrival of the "barbarian eye," as he designated Lord Napier, and professed his inability to discover whether he was an officer or a trader. The idea of his writing letters to the officials appeared to the Governor to be preposterous. And he concluded by saying, "A third time I consulted with your Majesty's minister Ki, and we came to the conclusion that the common disposition of the English barbarian is ferocious, and that what they trust in is the strength of their ships;... it is manifest that care must be taken in order to bring their minds into submission."

In face of this determined opposition Lord Napier found it impossible to carry out his instructions. He resolved, therefore, to report the actual position of affairs to the Foreign Office, and in the meantime to yield to the wishes of the mandarins, and to retire to Macao in order to put an end to the blockade of the port. Not content with gaining their main contention, the Chinese inflicted every possible annoyance

upon him, and so harassed him, mentally and bodily, that he reached Macao only to die. Worn out from fatigue, climate and anxiety, he there breathed his last on the 11th of October, 1834.

At this time the opium traffic began again seriously to attract the attention of the Chinese government. Not only were its moral effects condemned, but the increasing drain of silver resulting from it aroused the fears of the Emperor and his advisers. It had been reported to the throne that from the third to the eleventh year of the Emperor's reign 18,000,000 taels-worth of silver had left the country; and an urgent appeal was made that "the leak might be stopped." The amount of smuggling which went on in connexion with the traffic was productive of many evils, and constantly brought the authorities of the two countries into conflict. On more than one occasion the mandarins had seized and destroyed many tons of the drug; and the apparent shelter which was afforded to evil-doers by the British authorities produced an hostility which acted detrimentally on the legitimate trade.

Captain Elliot, who became Chief Superintendent in 1835, from the first recognised the evils which were likely to flow from the existence of the traffic, and did all in his power to suppress it. Had he been as wise in other matters as in this he might have been more successful. But he made the mistake of supposing that by yielding to the overweening demands of the Chinese he would win their friendship. In his first attempt to open communications with the authorities he addressed them in the form of a petition; and the only answer he received was a note ordering him to leave the port. After some months he was allowed to return, and at the same time he received stringent orders from Lord Palmerston that his letters should be in the form of despatches and not of petitions.

About this time repeated demands for the deportation of foreigners engaged in the opium traffic reached Captain Elliot

from the Chinese authorities, and in some instances he yielded to these requirements. But the evil went on, and Elliot reported to the Foreign Office that the Court had finally determined to suppress, or more probably put a considerable check on the opium trade. The immense and, it must be said, most unfortunate increase of the supply during the last four years, the rapid growth of the east coast trade in opium, and the continued drain of silver, had no doubt greatly alarmed the government. Many were the remedies proposed to the Peking authorities; and one official had the courage to suggest that the trade should be legalised and a tax laid upon the drug. With considerable force he enlarged on the violence, bribery and extortion to which the traffic, as then conducted, gave rise, and he showed how it might be kept in check if it were officially recognised. The Court however was in no mood to listen to such suggestions, and stripped the memorialist of his rank and sentenced him to transportation into Mongolia.

On this question Captain Elliot took a decided line, and he urged Lord Palmerston with much force to indicate the nature of the policy to be pursued. On the spot the position was becoming well-nigh unendurable, and the Chinese were showing their ill-will in every possible manner. The arrival of Admiral Maitland in H.M.S. *Wellesley* aroused their suspicions, and they fired at and boarded boats which they thought might possibly be carrying the admiral from his ship to Canton. For these outrages the admiral called upon them to apologise; and even the despised merchants gave them to understand that there were limits to their endurance. A native opium smuggler was suddenly, on one occasion, brought into the factory enclosure to suffer death by strangulation. This intolerable encroachment roused the merchants, who drove the executioner, prisoner, and escort off the settlement grounds. A riot followed which was ultimately suppressed; and the smuggler was strangled on the public execution ground. "All these desperate hazards," wrote Elliot to the Foreign

Office, "were incurred for the scrambling and comparatively insignificant gains of a few reckless individuals, unquestionably founding their conduct on the belief that they were exempt from the operation of all law, British or Chinese."

In these circumstances Elliot called a meeting of all merchants trading at Canton, and, pointing out the evils arising from the opium traffic, carried the meeting with him in determining that notice should be given to all smuggling craft in the river belonging to the English to leave the port limits within three days. It is noticeable that, in recognition of his honesty of purpose on this occasion, the Viceroy opened direct communication with Elliot for the first time. While matters were in this state news reached Canton that an Imperial commissioner, named Lin, had been appointed by the Emperor, with full powers, to administer foreign affairs at Canton, more especially with relation to the opium traffic. The prospective arrival of this official gave vigour to the action of the native authorities, who for the second time marched a native opium smuggler accompanied by a large force into the factory enclosure and there strangled him, on this occasion without opposition.

The Chinese government was at this time evidently sincere in its desire to put an end to the opium traffic. It heralded Lin's approach by an edict addressed to the Viceroy of Canton, in which after many moral platitudes it laid down that "the buildings in which the opium undergoes preparation, the smuggling vessels in which it is conveyed, and the shops opened for its sale or for indulgence in the use of it, with all such-like evil and pernicious establishments, will need to be thoroughly uprooted as they shall, from time to time, and in one place after another, be brought to light."

Lin arrived at Canton in the beginning of March, 1839, and at once issued a long manifesto in which he demanded that the foreign merchants should at once surrender all opium in their possession, and should bind themselves never in the

future to import opium into the country. At the same time he placed a cordon of armed boats in front of the factories, and stationed a considerable force of men in the square and in rear of the buildings. The foreign merchants were thus virtually imprisoned, and their native servants ordered away. In these stringent circumstances it became necessary for Elliot to determine on a course of action, and in the interests of his countrymen he resolved to yield. He thereupon issued a circular to his countrymen ordering them to surrender into his hands all the English opium actually on the coast of China at that time. In obedience to this instruction the merchants yielded up their stores of the drug, and Elliot was able to announce to the commissioner that he was prepared to hand over to him 20,283 chests of opium. Lin accepted his submission in a grudging spirit, and notified to Elliot "that the servants should be restored after one-fourth of the whole had been delivered; that the passage boats would be permitted to resume running after one-half had been delivered; that trade should be reopened after three-fourths had been delivered; and that everything should proceed as usual after the whole had been delivered."

Having thus met with complete success in his dealings with the British at Canton, Lin turned his attention to the branch of the trade carried on at Macao. An idea of his intention having gone abroad, the Portuguese traders instantly sent their stores of the drug to Manila. Lin, however, was inexorable, and succeeded in recovering a certain quantity of the drug under threat of occupying the forts with Chinese troops. These submissions in no way satisfied Lin's requirements. He established regulations still further limiting the trade and minimising all intercourse with foreigners. The shops of traders who had dealt with them were pulled down, the factories were blockaded, and the foreign merchants were guarded as prisoners. To these outrages it was impossible to submit; and the British community, one and all, deserted

the port, Elliot being the last to leave. After some weeks' delay an Imperial edict was received ordering the destruction of the surrendered opium; and on one day in June the 20,283 chests were committed to the flames.

In one sense Lin had been successful. But his work was unfinished. He had put a temporary stop to the opium trade at Canton, but he had driven away the foreign merchants by his hasty and aggressive measures; and the task remained of inducing them to return. One result, also, of the check which the trade at Canton had received was that large quantities of the drug were smuggled into the littoral markets on the east coast. So profitable did this traffic prove that it gave a great impetus to the importation of opium; and the measures upon which Lin prided himself thus proved worse than useless.

Meanwhile the international relations became more than ever complicated by acts of violence committed both by foreigners and Chinese. In a riot at Hongkong a Chinaman met with such injuries at the hands of British sailors that he died. Instantly Lin, acting on the principle of a life for a life, demanded the surrender of the sailor who had struck the fatal blow. This was naturally refused, but at Elliot's suggestion the five sailors implicated in the riot were put on their trial and received sentences of varying severity. Dissatisfied with this retribution Lin proceeded to the neighbourhood of Macao, and in person demanded that one of the five should be handed over to him; and he attempted to enforce his demand by cutting off all supplies from Macao, where the British merchants were then staying. As the Portuguese were in consequence unable to afford the English any protection against this additional outrage, the latter quitted the place for Hongkong. Apparently in revenge for the death of the Chinaman at Hongkong, armed Chinese boats attacked a defenceless British schooner and murdered seven Lascar sailors. Even the boats of H.M. ships were attacked; and on one occasion a pinnace of H.M.S. *Volage*, which had lately arrived, was fired into.

Matters were at this time fast drifting into a state of open hostilities, and an occurrence now took place which precipitated events. It will be remembered that Lin had demanded not only that the British merchants should surrender their stores of opium, but that they should formally bind themselves never again to deal in the drug, and in case of the infringement of this condition submit themselves to be tried by Chinese law. It was in consequence of their refusal to sign this bond that they had been driven from Canton; and it was Lin's refusal to cancel the demand that constrained their continued absence. It was with feelings of great resentment, therefore, that they learnt that a Captain Warner, of the British ship *Thomas Coutts*, had signed the bond, and had been allowed to take his ship to Canton. This action on the part of Warner prompted Lin to issue a notice in which he called upon all British merchants either to sign the bond and to return to the factories, or to take their departure from Chinese waters within three days' time. To enforce this peremptory summons the Chinese fleet took order of battle and moved out from the anchorage towards H.M.S. *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, which were lying at anchor off Chuenpee. The British ships instantly took up the gauntlet thus wantonly thrown down, and opened fire on the twenty-nine junks as they approached. Several of these latter were blown out of the water, and in less than three-quarters of an hour the survivors were in full flight. This engagement was reported to Peking as a victory; and in response, while promoting the admiral for his valour and skill, the Emperor issued orders that a stop should be put at once and for all to the trade with Great Britain—a decree to which point was given by the local authorities, who supplemented its provisions by calling on all English subjects to quit Chinese territory for ever.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST CHINESE WAR.

To all intents and purposes war was now declared; and a British force, under Admiral Sir Gordon Bremer, consisting of 15 men-of-war, 4 steam-vessels, and 25 transports with 4000 soldiers on board, anchored off the Canton river in June, 1840. The river had already been blockaded by the ships on the spot; and it was anticipated that the arrival of the large additional force would have brought the Chinese to reason. But the obstinate pride of Lin led him to bid defiance to the outer barbarians; and with studied insolence he issued a proclamation offering rewards for the capture of English vessels and men. For every English eighty-gun ship delivered over to the government he promised to pay 20,000 dollars; for the entire destruction of each large ship, 10,000 dollars; for each commander, 5000 dollars; for their slaughter, one-third less; for white English prisoners, 100 dollars, and one-fifth for their slaughter; for coloured prisoners, a reward; and for each coloured person killed, 20 dollars.

The issue of this notice and the general attitude of Lin left Admiral Bremer no choice but to assume the offensive. While therefore the main fleet moved northwards with Chusan as their objective, the frigate *Blonde* was sent to Amoy to attempt, as a last resource, to open up communication with the Chinese admiral at that port. That official, however, refused to receive the proffered despatch and moved his vessels into line of battle. In reply the *Blonde* opened fire and in a few minutes silenced his guns, inflicting serious injury on his junks and

batteries. The defence of Chusan was equally futile. To Sir Gordon Bremer's demand to surrender, the local admiral replied that he dare not comply though he was fully conscious that resistance was useless. This attitude left the English admiral no option; and after a short but effective bombardment, troops were landed, who, without the loss of a man, took possession of the island. Lying in the bay of Hangchow, and off the important port of Ningpo, Chusan formed a most convenient and effective base for operations against the coasts of central and northern China. The climate was good; provisions and water were readily obtainable; and the anchorage was safe. It has on several occasions been occupied by our troops; and at the conclusion of the war it was debated whether Hongkong or Chusan would be most suitable as a British colony. Fortunately Hongkong was chosen, and an assurance was given to the Chinese that Chusan would never be made part of the British dominions.

Leaving a depôt at Chusan, Sir Gordon Bremer moved northwards to the mouth of the Peiho. This advance alarmed the Emperor, who despatched Kishen, a confidential minister, with orders so to arrange matters with Captain Elliot as to secure the removal of the British fleet from so dangerous a proximity to the capital. Unfortunately he was entirely successful in his enterprise. With honeyed phrases he induced Elliot to believe that Canton was after all the most convenient place for negotiating terms of peace, and persuaded him to proceed there with the fleet to await his own arrival.

From Kishen the Emperor learnt the true state of affairs at Canton, that the port was blockaded, and all trade was stopped; and that the hated foreigners were as obstinately aggressive in their demands as ever. At the same time came the news of the occupation of Chusan and the blockade of Amoy and Ningpo. In his anger at these national disasters the Emperor poured out the vials of his wrath on the head of Commissioner Lin. In a short edict directed against the

unfortunate emissary, the Emperor writes, "You have proved yourself unable to cut off the opium trade; you have but dissembled with empty words in your reports to me; and so far from having been any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand disorders are sprouting; it appears that you are no better than a wooden image. I order that your seals be taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Peking that I may examine you." The result of his examination was Lin's final degradation and disgrace.

Although Kishen was nominally negotiating with Elliot he was really only "marking time" until the arrival of the reinforcements which were on their way from the more distant provinces should put him in a position to declare war against the enemy. For a time these tactics prevailed, but at last even Elliot saw that his time had come to resume operations. Matters were therefore put into the hands of Sir G. Bremer, who at once prepared to attack the Bogue Forts on the Canton river. After a brisk bombardment these strongholds were taken with the loss on the Chinese side of 500 men, but none on ours (January 1841). The loss of these forts brought Kishen to his knees; and without demur that master of the Fabian policy agreed to the cession of the island of Hongkong, and the payment of a war indemnity to the victors. Hongkong was at once occupied and so passed finally into our hands; but before the indemnity was paid events arose which made a continuance of hostilities necessary. Edicts from Peking continued to appear in which peremptory orders were given to exterminate the barbarians, while the local authorities published proclamations offering rewards for the ships and heads of the English. In these circumstances the choice remained between being driven out of the Empire and compelling the Chinese authorities to yield to us the common rights of humanity. It was plain that this last alternative could only be brought about by the exercise of force.

It was determined, therefore, to attack Canton, and, as a preliminary measure, the forts which guarded the approaches to that city. One after another these were taken; and Sir G. Bremer was then in a position to attack the great stronghold, for the defence of which every preparation had been made. Sir Hugh Gough, who at this time had taken over the command in the field, issued a notice addressed to the people of the city, telling them that the British quarrel was with the authorities and not with them, and that every effort would be made to minimise the losses which must inevitably be incurred by the inhabitants.

The receipt at Peking of the news of these further disasters sealed Kishen's fate for the time being. In a passionate edict the Emperor vented his wrath on the luckless commissioner, and, after dwelling upon his enormities, he concluded by ordering a Tartar emissary "to proceed to Canton, and bring Kishen to Peking; and the rebellious minister and his whole family are to be put to death on the day of their arrival." Fortunately for Kishen more merciful counsels prevailed before the time when he reached Peking; and in lieu of death he was banished to Tibet, where he was ultimately appointed Imperial resident at Lhasa, and where he succeeded in partly repairing his fortune, which had been sequestered by the crown at the time of his downfall.

Meanwhile a temporary truce was patched up at Canton. The foreign factories were reoccupied, and trade was resumed. But it was a hollow pretence. The arrival, in succession to Kishen, of three Imperial commissioners, whose attitude from the first was hostile, made it plain that no faith could be placed in the protestations of the local authorities, while the edicts which emanated from Peking breathed nothing but fire and sword. The officials and people were ordered to sweep the rebellious barbarians off the sacred soil of China, and it was suggested that a few might be sent to Peking in cages. Not unnaturally in these circumstances the mandarins combined to

carry out the commands of their sovereign, and laid a carefully-arranged plot for the destruction of the foreigners in the factories. Happily the scheme became known ; and the would-have-been victims of the conspiracy had sufficient warning to enable them to escape from the meshes which were laid for them. This treachery caused a renewal of hostilities, and Sir Hugh Gough made every preparation for an attack on the city. After some preliminary engagements, in which the outworks were taken one after the other, he organised his forces for an assault. Up to this point the commissioners had shown a bold front, but now their courage forsook them, and within a few hours of the time when the guns were to open fire they came into the English lines bringing a proposal for a truce. This was granted on condition that the Imperial troops should retire to a distance of sixty miles from the walls, and that the sum of 600,000 dollars should be paid to redeem the city. These terms were carried out, and again a short period of peace was secured.

While matters were in this state Sir Henry Pottinger, who had been appointed Plenipotentiary to the court of Peking, arrived at Hongkong. His orders were peremptory that he should open relations with the court at Peking ; and as the Emperor refused to hold any communication with the rebellious barbarians, Sir Henry had no alternative but to compel the Son of Heaven to recognise his existence. With this object Gough sailed northwards, and after a sharp engagement captured the town of Amoy. Thence he sailed to Chusan, and again took Tinghai, the capital of the island, but not without considerable opposition. Leaving a force to garrison this place, Sir Hugh now crossed over to the mainland, and after having made himself master of Chinhai, marched on to the important city of Ningpo. Contrary to his expectations, the Chinese, confident in the strength of Chinhai to resist the barbarian attack, had left Ningpo undefended ; and he therefore took possession of it without striking a blow. In the same way, trusting in the

fortifications of Wusung to protect the city of Shanghai, they left the latter practically undefended, so that, when Wusung was captured, as it was with comparative ease, the rich port of Shanghai became the spoil of the victors (June 1842).

These successes, important though they were, did little to forward the political object of the campaign; and it was felt that a nearer approach must be made to the capital before the Emperor and his court could be brought to realise the parlous state to which the Empire had been reduced. It was determined, therefore, to advance up the Yangtsze-kiang to Nanking, the ancient capital of the Empire, and on the way to take Chinkiang-fu, a fortress of considerable strength on the south side of the river. Besides the fortification of the city itself, an entrenched camp outside the walls added to the difficulties of the besiegers. Two thousand Manchu and Mongol soldiers, and an equal number of Chinese troops, held the defences; while so strong were the walls that the British bombardment failed to effect a breach. The city was therefore stormed by scaling parties, who, after considerable fighting, forced their way over the ramparts. Then followed terrible scenes of bloodshed. Those killed in the fight were numerous, but were as nothing to the number of those who either committed suicide or were murdered to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. In almost every house women and children were found dead, either by hanging or the sword; and the wells were full of others who had chosen to commit suicide by drowning.

Having thus cleared the approach to Nanking, the fleet sailed thither and arrived opposite the walls (August 9, 1842). The advance up the Yangtsze-kiang had brought home to the Emperor the necessity of opening negotiations for peace if his Empire was to be saved; and he therefore deputed three commissioners, Ilipu (Elepoo), Kiying (Keying), and Niu Kien, the Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, to proceed to Nanking to make the best bargain possible with the barbarians. A letter from Niu Kien, in which he expressed the Empire's desire for

peace, and his recognition of the fact that foreigners residing at Canton had been exposed to insults and extortions for a series of years, opened the proceedings. As both sides were genuinely desirous to lay aside the sword, the negotiations advanced apace; and the treaty was solemnly signed on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* on August 29, 1842.

By the terms of this document it was agreed that British officials should communicate on terms of equality with Chinese mandarins of equal rank; that $21,000,000 should be paid by the Chinese as a war indemnity; that the four ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be opened to trade on the same conditions as those prevailing at Canton; and that Hongkong should be formally and finally ceded to the British crown. With unusual speed this treaty was sent to Peking for the Emperor's signature, who returned it with the intimation that "the whole of the barbarian vessels were to leave the great river by the 14th of September." Although no heed was taken of this preposterous command, the fleet sailed for Chusan towards the end of the month. After leaving a garrison of 2000 men at Tinghai Sir H. Pottinger proceeded southward to Hongkong, having reduced the garrison left at Amoy to 1000 men. These places were, it had been agreed, to be held until the indemnity claim was paid. In due course this debt was discharged, and the fortifications were finally handed over to the Chinese.

The duty of settling the tariff yet remained, and it was arranged that Sir Henry Pottinger should negotiate its terms with Ilipu, who had been appointed by the Emperor for the purpose, at Canton. This matter was proceeding smoothly and quickly when Ilipu, who had been in bad health for some time, was taken ill and died. Happily Kiying was appointed his successor; and greatly owing to his tact and friendliness the tariff was finally agreed upon and made valid by signature in the July of the year following the conclusion of the treaty.

The main principle that the Treaty of Nanking was in-

tended to proclaim was the equality of Great Britain with China. Hitherto the Chinese had assumed a superiority over all the nations of the earth. "There is only one sun in the heavens, and there is only one Emperor on the earth," was the common answer to any claim of equality that was put forward by the outer barbarians. Cut off from the rest of the world by huge mountain ranges and trackless deserts, China had for countless centuries dominated the Far East, converting into subjects the Mongol tribes and the native races which cluster along her western frontiers, and exercising suzerainty over the neighbouring kingdoms of Korea, Cochin China, Siam, and Burma. Accustomed thus to exercise lordship over all foreigners who came within her ken, she was naturally indisposed at first to admit Europeans to terms of equality; and, when force of arms compelled her to yield a feigned acquiescence, her every endeavour was directed towards getting rid, as speedily as possible, of the mail-clad warriors, and towards minimising the conditions extracted from her by the treaties.

The celerity with which after the signatures of the several treaties we have vacated Chinese territory has been one of those mistakes which we have periodically made in our dealings with China; and the imperious demand that our ships should leave the Yangtsze-kiang by a given date should have been as sternly repudiated as the continued occupation of Peking should have been insisted upon after the conclusion of the treaty of 1861. In our negotiations with the Chinese our diplomatists have never realised that their very natural desire has ever been to give us as small a foot-hold as possible on the sacred soil of China, and to keep the disturbing elements which we control as far from the capital as circumstances will permit. Captain Elliot made a fatal mistake when he transferred his negotiations with Kishen from the mouth of the Peiho to Canton; and Sir Henry Pottinger fell into a like error when he hastily left Nanking at the conclusion of the treaty.

The natural results soon followed. In defiance of the terms of amity proclaimed at Nanking, riots broke out among the unregenerate people of Canton; and on the several occasions in which riotous natives lost their lives at the hands of foreigners the mandarins demanded the surrender of the homicides that they might be tried according to their law, being apparently oblivious of the fact that the Son of Heaven had put his signature to a treaty which had transferred the jurisdiction over foreigners to their own tribunals.

But, though the policy of the Empire was to confine the energies of foreigners within the narrowest limits, there were yet those who benefited largely by the foreign trade. An official post at Canton, especially when connected with the custom-house, had long been one of the most coveted offices in the country; and it was generally recognised by needy mandarins and greedy merchants that an extension of the trade was to be desired. It was with satisfaction therefore that such people read a proclamation issued by Kiying in which he announced that the other four ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai would be at once opened to foreign trade, though they must have observed with a smile the further doubtful statement that "the weapons of war being for ever laid aside, joy and profit should be the perpetual lot of all." In this proclamation Kiying made it plain that the ports named were opened not only to the trade of Great Britain but to that of all men from afar; and it was not long before the governments of France and of the United States despatched envoys to help to reap the harvest which the British had sown. During the whole of the warlike proceedings which had been brought to a close at Nanking, American men-of-war had watched the course of events; and no sooner had peace been signed than Mr Caleb Cushing arrived with proposals for a treaty, while M. de Lagrenée appeared as the representative of Louis Philippe.

On the arrival of Mr Cushing on February 24, 1844, an

announcement was made to Governor Ching of the general objects of his mission, and of his orders to proceed to Peking. This information having been despatched to the capital, the Emperor with all haste appointed Kiying to negotiate a treaty with him at Canton. With as little delay as possible the plenipotentiaries met, and without much controversy agreed to and signed a treaty, the main provisions of which Mr Cushing had brought with him from Washington. Unfortunately, almost before the ink on the treaty was dry, anti-foreign riots broke out at Canton, in course of which a Chinaman lost his life at the hands of an American. On the matter being reported to Kiying he at once, in entire oblivion of the treaty he had just signed, demanded the surrender of the homicide. Finding this refused him he insisted in representing to Mr Cushing that the principle of a life for a life should be observed, but finally agreed to accept a donation for the relatives of the deceased man in lieu of all demands. At first Mr Cushing was desirous of fulfilling his mission by presenting the President's letter to the Emperor in person. But the difficulties in the way, and the evident opposition of the Chinese, led him to give up the idea.

Monsieur de Lagrenée arrived in the following August; and again Kiying was nominated to represent the Emperor in the negotiations with him. No difficulties were raised on either side, and on October 23, 1844, the Treaty of Whampoa was duly signed and sealed. The absence of the admixture of any trading disputes in the discussion of the treaty added to the ease with which it was concluded, and gave point to Kiying's remark that France was a great nation which did not think of the questions of trade. But, while Monsieur de Lagrenée made light of trading privileges, he, in accordance with his instructions, advocated the cause of Christianity, and the right of missionaries to bring to the people of China the light of the Gospel. Happily, at this juncture, a liberal view with regard to religious matters prevailed at Peking; and in response to

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the French ambassador's representations an Imperial edict was issued ordaining the toleration of the Christian religion, as being one which inculcated the principles of virtue. This liberal decree was still further supplemented by the concession to religious bodies of the right of holding land.

The vista of trade which was opened by the conclusion of the British and American treaties induced the other kingdoms of the West to bestir themselves to secure positions in the great markets of China; and, though for a time no more treaties were made, the governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Portugal deputed officials to establish trading centres at the five treaty ports.

In some respects the Chinese acted up to both the letter and the spirit of the treaties. They paid with admirable regularity the instalments of the indemnity due to Great Britain, and in return received back the islands of Chusan and Kulangsu, which were held in mortgage for the payment of the money due. But in one notable instance they failed. It had been agreed that at the conclusion of the treaty the gates of Canton should be thrown open to foreigners. On one excuse or another the officials put off the (to them) evil day, and pleaded the hostility of the people as their justification. The real object, however, was that which had actuated them throughout their dealings with foreigners, namely the desire to confine the barbarians within as narrow limits as possible. So long as they could be kept in the foreign settlement only, so long would their inferiority be made apparent. The excuse that the people would break out into riot if brought into contact with foreigners was a plea which should not have been listened to for a moment; and its falsehood has been proved over and over again. It is true that outrages were frequently committed on foreigners, but these acts were due to the fact that our exclusion from the city marked us out as inferiors, who as such were debarred from community of rights with the people. Instead of coming to the help of the commercial community in their

difficulty, Sir John Davis, the Superintendent of Trade, aggravated their position by withdrawing the guardships from the city. In response to the remonstrances on his thus leaving his countrymen unprotected, he declined to interfere on their behalf until, strangely enough, the Chinese officials applied for the presence of a man-of-war, when one was unwillingly despatched to the scene of the riots.

The evil effects of this withdrawal of protection speedily became apparent. The Chinese mobs waxed valiant in the absence of opposition; and the lives of foreigners were constantly in danger. At some distance on the river above Canton stands the town of Fatshan, a large and busy manufacturing centre. To this place a party of Englishmen rowed on one occasion in March, 1847, and they had no sooner reached its walls than the people showed signs of hostility. On this becoming apparent the Englishmen betook themselves to the Prefect's yamên and asked for protection from the violence of the people. With ready acquiescence the mandarin gave them shelter, and subsequently escorted them in person, at the risk of his life, to their boat. But all danger was not over when this was accomplished, for the banks of the river were lined with rioters, who threw bricks and stones from the shores and the bridges on the luckless foreigners.

So soon as the news of this outrage reached Hongkong, Sir John Davis, in defiance of his previous policy, called on the commanders of the British fleet and garrison to demand instant reparation from the Canton authorities, at the same time proclaiming that he would "exact and require from the Chinese government that British subjects should be as free from molestation and insult in China as they would be in England." Such a boast is easily made, and several successors of Sir John Davis have vaunted the same high words, but neither time nor threats have yet succeeded in producing the desired conditions. In this case, however, the troops took possession of the Bogue Forts and the entrenchments round Canton, and thus again

were in the position of holding the city at their mercy. At first it seemed likely that the Chinese troops would resent these warlike steps, but under the influence of Kiying pacific counsels prevailed. After some negotiations the Chinese officials acceded to the British demands, which included that the city of Canton should be opened to foreigners on and after April 6, 1849; that Englishmen should be allowed to roam at pleasure in the neighbourhood of the city, always provided that they did not go further than half-a-day's journey; and that a site for a church should be granted at Honan on the opposite side of the river.

The matter was thus brought to a satisfactory issue; but the consciousness that had Kiying been absent quite another aspect might have been given to the crisis, induced the British government to withhold its approval of Sir John Davis's action, and to warn him that another war with China was the last thing to be desired. A somewhat similar incident, which occurred at Shanghai about the same time, was dealt with by the consul, Mr Alcock, with equal success and with less friction. Three missionaries in the exercise of their calling visited the town of Tsingpu, where they were attacked by a riotous mob of boatmen and severely handled. In these circumstances, not getting from the local authorities the reparation he demanded, Mr Alcock ordered the naval commander of one of the two ships at his disposal to hold in check the fleet of grain-bearing junks which were on their way to Peking, and despatched the other vessel to Nanking with his Vice-Consul and Mr Parkes as interpreter on board, to lay before the Viceroy the iniquities of the assailants and the apathy of the mandarins in not bringing the rioters to justice. So successfully was this mission conducted that full justice was inflicted on the criminals, the chief offenders among the mandarins being dismissed from office, and the rest severely taken to task.

Matters in Canton, however, were not running so favourable a course. The question of admitting foreigners into the city

was agitating the people, who were influenced by the covert opposition of the officials, backed up by the Emperor himself. Addressing the citizens the Emperor Taokwang wrote: "That to which the hearts of the people incline is that on which the decree of heaven rests. Now the people of Kwangtung are unanimous and determined that they will not have foreigners enter their city. How can I post up everywhere my Imperial order and force an opposite course upon the people?" With short-sighted indifference the British government gave it to be understood that force would not be used to ensure the right; and no other government was sufficiently interested in the matter, or powerful enough, to take up the cudgels. The Emperor's pronouncement therefore governed the situation; and it was tacitly understood that the agreement arrived at between Sir John Davis and Kiying was to be held in abeyance.

But, though the mandarins displayed no disposition to improve their relations with foreigners, they showed no compunction whatever in making use of the outer barbarians for their own purposes. Piracy was a perennial evil in the southern waters of China, where the innumerable islands which dot the seaboard and the deep bays which line the coast gave convenient and effectual shelter to buccaneers. In 1849 a periodical wave of disorder spread over the southern portions of the China seas; and large fleets of piratical cruisers created a panic among the shipowners of Kwangtung and Tonquin, who were powerless to resist their well-armed junks. Unfortunately for the success of the pirates, they failed to confine their attentions to Chinese merchantmen, and venturing on higher game attacked British and other vessels. Only one British man-of-war was available at the time, but such good work did she accomplish that within a year the piratical fleet was either destroyed or dispersed. In one engagement off the coast of Tonquin sixty-five junks were sunk, and a remnant only escaped. During this naval campaign

the Canton officials gave every support and encouragement to the naval commander, and were lavish of their praise of the skill and daring which had rid them of such dangerous enemies.

A Spanish embassy arrived at Hongkong at about this time; but, having no power to support his demand for a treaty, the envoy abstained from all diplomatic action, and never got beyond the initial stage of enquiry in his relations with China. It was not until fifteen years later, after the war of 1860, that Spain concluded a treaty with the Son of Heaven. At the same time the opening of the treaty ports was attracting the subjects of the various European nations to the shores of the Middle Kingdom. Under the skilful management of Mr Alcock, Shanghai was fast assuming a position of importance; and the tea plantations in the neighbourhood of Foochow were giving wealth and prominence to that port. But these improvements were not in any sense the reflection of a more amicable attitude in the people of the country, as a startling event at Macao conclusively proved. General Amaral, the Governor of the colony, was one evening taking his usual ride, attended only by an aide-de-camp, when a party of men rushed at him, dragged him from his horse, and murdered him. The crime gave rise to reprisals; and the Portuguese garrison attacked the Chinese troops, capturing the frontier fort with a loss to the Chinese of ten or twelve men. The Portuguese government represented to the Chinese authorities the heinousness of this atrocity and sent reinforcements to Macao, at the same time demanding the capture and the punishment of the murderers. In response to this demand a man was beheaded at Canton. But, as a careful enquiry showed that he had had nothing to do with this crime, further reparation was insisted on; and finally the real criminals were brought to justice and executed.

It was while matters were in this uncertain condition that the Emperor Taokwang "became a guest in heaven," and

was succeeded on the throne by his son Yihchu—a youth of nineteen years—who adopted the Imperial title of Hienfung. The occasion of his accession was seized upon by Sir George Bonham, H.M.'s Superintendent of Trade, to bring to the notice of the Son of Heaven the fact that his Empire had now entered into relations with the outer barbarians. With this object he despatched to the Peiho a British steamer with a letter of congratulation addressed to Hienfung, who however vouchsafed no reply to the communication, partly, perhaps, through ignorance, but partly also from an antagonism which was constantly displayed during the whole course of his reign. One of his first acts was to dismiss Kiying, to whose diplomacy and good-will had been due such friendly relations as, amid much hostility, had been allowed to grow up. "The unpatriotic tendency of Kiying, his cowardice and incapacity, are very greatly to be wondered at," wrote those who guided the hand of the youthful Emperor. This dismissal of Kiying, read by the light of recent events, shows that little advance had been made in the relations between China and the Western world, and that those who then advocated a friendly foreign policy stood all day long in imminent peril of the Imperial wrath. The effect of the hostile attitude adopted at the capital was speedily reflected in the provinces; and at Foochow a determined attempt was made to exclude foreigners from the city limits. This attempted withdrawal of a right was successfully resisted; but the intention was eminently characteristic of the Chinese, whose invariable method has been on all occasions to minimise, so far as possible, the rights which they have been compelled to concede by treaty.

But stirring events were about to take place which were destined to put foreign affairs in the background. The Manchu government had never recovered the prestige it had lost by the war with England and the conclusion of the Nanking treaty. The secret societies—notably the "Triad" and the "White Lily" societies—with which China is always honeycombed,

gathered increasing force and power as the Imperial influence in the provinces waned. The time appeared to have come when Heaven was raining down its horrors on a guilty and profligate court, preparatory to the appearance of a leader who, according to historical precedent, should destroy "the wicked sovereign" and place a new dynasty upon the throne. In these circumstances it needed only the advent of a chief to give overwhelming expression to the discontent which was seething all over the Empire, more especially in the southern portion. With the hour came the man. A member of the despised *Hakka*, or "Stranger" class, a race who live apart from the surrounding inhabitants and partly in antagonism to them, came forward as the chosen vessel who was to purge the Empire from its guilty oppressors, and to restore that universal harmony which is the normal condition devised by Heaven for the welfare of the people. This man, Hung Hsiu-ts'üan by name, being of ambitious character, presented himself on several occasions before the public examiners at Canton, and as often failed to satisfy their requirements. During his visits, however, to the provincial capital, he fell under the influence of an American missionary, whose views he adopted so far as his superficial knowledge would permit him. Being naturally of an hysterical temperament, the spiritual ideas which were crudely presented to him so inflamed his imagination that on his return to his native village, after his last rebuff at the Examination Hall, he fell into a neurotic stupor, in which he saw visions and dreamed dreams. In his delirium he believed that he received a visit from the Almighty, who, placing a sword in his hands, enjoined him to go forth conquering and to conquer. So strange and vivid were his accounts of the visions which had appeared to him, that at the conclusion of his forty days of delirium he gathered round him a following of neighbours who affected to be, and perhaps really were, fully persuaded of the truth of his mission, and who were very practically impressed by the disordered state of the country.

Supported by these men, Hung took the field, and at first devoted his energies to capturing and sacking the small towns in his neighbourhood, and to destroying the Buddhist temples which they contained. These exploits proved so lucrative to his adherents that crowds flocked to his standard. But they alarmed the Emperor, who appointed three Imperial commissioners to oppose the rebel forces. Being quite incompetent, these commissioners took precautions to avoid the neighbourhood of the T'aip'ings, as Hung's followers now called themselves, who flushed with victory marched into the province of Hunan, where they ravaged and laid waste all those towns on their line of march which were not strong enough to resist them. The successful defence of Changsha, the capital of the province, by Tsêng Kwofan was the first serious rebuff which Hung had met with in his progress. Having failed in his attempt to take this city, he marched northwards, and eventually (1853) made himself master of Nanking, the ancient capital of the Empire.

This triumphal march aroused the alarm of the foreign Powers. The movement had assumed such proportions that it was inevitable that it should affect the commercial relations of the country for good or ill. This being so, Sir George Bonham determined to put himself in touch with the rebels, "with the view of ascertaining personally on the spot how far the various accounts connected with the progress of the rebellion in the north were to be relied upon," as he wrote to Lord John Russell. With this object he proceeded to Shanghai, where he found considerable consternation prevailing among the natives. Trade was almost at a standstill; money was very scarce; and the mandarins were well-nigh despairing. With that curious want of consistency, which has so often been illustrated in China, the officials who had never tired of pouring contempt on the outer barbarians, no sooner found themselves in the face of a formidable enemy than they appealed piteously

for help from their quondam foes. The Governor of Kiang-su applied to Mr Alcock for ships and men, and had the effrontery to ask him to send at once all the men-of-war on the station to Nanking. With perfect impartiality he made like requests to the consuls of all the Treaty Powers, who one and all, with the exception of the American, declined to interfere in the quarrel.

From the first, Sir George Bonham recognised the inadvisability of taking a part in the contest. It was true that the rebels had gained many and notable successes, but they had not manifested any such administrative ability as would justify the prospect of their ever being able to replace the ruling government at Peking. Sir George Bonham determined, therefore, to maintain a strict neutrality, and while gathering the fleet at Shanghai for the protection of the godowns and warehouses of his countrymen and the other foreigners resident in the settlement, he gave the Chinese authorities distinctly to understand that they were not to expect any help from him. The American consul took a different view, and at the request of the Taot'ai allowed a merchant-vessel flying the American flag to be sent up to Nanking, "where her appearance, it was supposed or expected, would strengthen the hands of the Imperialists and overawe the insurgents." In the event it did neither, but it had the unfortunate effect—as was intended—of inducing the rebels to believe that foreigners generally were allying themselves with the Imperialists against them.

At this time it was difficult to gain accurate information as to the condition and extent of the rebel forces; and Sir George Bonham deemed it advisable to send H.M.S. *Hermes* to Nanking to gain any information on the position of the affairs that was procurable. On reaching Chinkiang-fu, which had fallen into the hands of the rebels, the ship was fired on by the forts, and by the junks at anchor, under the impression, doubtless, after the issue of the Shanghai Taot'ai's

proclamation, that we had arrived to support the Imperialists. A similar reception awaited the *Hermes* off Nanking; but an explanation of the reasons which had led to the presence of the ship put an end at once to this hostile attitude, and served as an introduction to an interview at which it was made plain to the insurgents that so long as they did not interfere with British property they need not fear the intervention of British ships.

Meanwhile meetings, at which all the foreign consuls attended, were held at Shanghai to prepare means of defence in case the rebels should attack the city and settlement. Volunteers were enrolled and troops were landed from the ships in port. What the capture of a town by the rebels meant may be gathered from the fact that at the taking of Nanking 25,000 Tartars, men, women and even children at the breast, were put to death. As one of the T'aip'ings said at the time to Consul Meadows, "We killed them all, to the infant in arms; we left not a root to sprout from; and the bodies of the slain we cast into the Yangtsze."

The complacency with which the American consul at Shanghai had given his support to the Imperialist cause did not, however, earn for his nation any reciprocal advantage. Like Sir John Bowring, the then British Superintendent of Trade, the American Minister regarded admission into the city of Canton as of prime political importance, and wrote to the Governor expressing a desire to pay him a visit of ceremony. The answer was drawn up on the lines of many such replies; and the presence of rebels in the districts bordering on the city was pleaded as an excuse for declining the meeting. To a similar proposal from Sir John Bowring the Governor Yeh expressed his pleasure at the prospect, but named a merchant's packhouse outside the city as the place of meeting. The choice of this site made the meeting impossible; and, after some further correspondence, Yeh postponed the visit until some more fortunate day, in other words until the Greek kalends.

At this time (1854) the question of admission into the city had been a matter of discussion for eleven years, though in 1846, when Sir John Davis concluded the convention with Kiying, the right was distinctly acknowledged. In the course of the following year Sir J. Davis, finding that Kiying was inclined to evade the obligation, made a naval demonstration before Canton, and obtained a written declaration from him that on the expiration of two years from that time free admission to the city would certainly be given. Needless to say that when the appointed time came the gates remained hermetically closed against us, and further the Chinese commissioner repudiated altogether his predecessor's undertaking. All this was made quite plain by Sir J. Bowring in his correspondence with Yeh, who while obstinately refusing a plain treaty right had the effrontery to ask for the help of the ships of war of Sir J. Bowring's "honourable nation" to arrest the progress of the rebellion in the province. This was, of course, refused; but so threatening was the danger to Canton occasioned by the approach of the rebels that Sir J. Bowring proceeded to the anchorage off the city, and arranged with the consuls of the other Treaty Powers for the security of the foreign settlement.

Happily the Imperial forces were able to keep the rebels in check; and for many months the peace of the settlement was left undisturbed, except for an international dispute which threatened at one time to involve the Treaty Powers in a serious misunderstanding. The French consul in his desire to give prominence to his Empire erected a flagstaff, destined to bear the national flag, in a conspicuous part of the settlement. It was pointed out to him that he was trespassing on common property; and, as he insisted in his purpose, the rigging of the flagstaff was cut. In retaliation he landed a force of marines who arrested two Englishmen and carried them off to a French man-of-war lying at the anchorage. These high-handed measures were protested against by the British consul, who succeeded, after a considerable correspondence, in extracting

the necessary restitution and apology from his aggressive colleague.

The tranquillity which had reigned between the Chinese and the foreign Powers was, however, destined to be violently disturbed. The question of admission into the city, though for a time allowed to remain in abeyance, was still ever present in the minds of both Sir John Bowring and Mr Parkes, who was in charge of the consulate at Canton, both of whom were on the alert to seize any opening which the Chinese might give them of enforcing the demand. The opportunity came even sooner than it was expected. A British lorcha, named the *Arrow*, was boarded and seized by a mandarin at the head of a force of forty men, who having made the crew prisoners carried them off into one of the city prisons (Oct. 8, 1856), and hauled down the British flag. The master, who was an Englishman, was not on board at the time of the outrage, but on becoming aware of what had happened at once reported the matter at the consulate. Parkes instantly wrote to Commissioner Yeh strongly protesting against the outrage, and received a reply in which Yeh said that the men were Chinese subjects and pirates to boot, and that he was therefore within his rights in seizing them. As no argument would induce him to yield the point, Sir J. Bowring addressed an ultimatum to him giving him twenty-four hours to make an apology and return the men, etc., failing which he was told that force would be resorted to.

With a contemptuous disregard of this demand Yeh maintained silence; and the affair then passed into the hands of Sir Michael Seymour, the British admiral on the station. At first it was thought that the capture of a Chinese war-junk would be sufficient to bring Yeh to his senses. But this reprisal proving useless the admiral proceeded to bombard and seize the four barrier forts protecting the city. The only ostensible result of these measures was the issuing of a proclamation to the people of Canton, in which Yeh exhorted them

"to assist the soldiers and militia in exterminating these troublesome English villains, killing them wherever you meet them, whether on shore or in their ships. For each of their lives that you may thus take you shall receive, as before, thirty dollars." Against this placard the French consul entered a strong protest addressed to the commissioner, in which he said, "Votre Excellence sait bien que ce n'est pas ainsi que les nations civilisées se font la guerre, et que la raison et l'équité protestent hautement contre cet encouragement donné à la perfidie et à l'assassinat."

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND CHINESE WAR.

WITH such an enemy, at once brutal and contemptuous, there could be no exchange of compliments; and on October 27, 1856, Sir M. Seymour opened fire on Yeh's yamên and his city wall. A breach was made, and two days later an assault was ordered; and without much difficulty the admiral, accompained by Parkes, make a forcible entry into the city. Their first objective was Yeh's yamên, where they hoped to find the commissioner. In this they were disappointed, for the bird had flown; and the admiral not having a sufficient force to occupy the city had no option but to retire to his ships.

The position of the foreign residents in the settlement was naturally precarious. The French and Americans had men-of-war in port of sufficient capacity to protect their nationals; but the consulates of Prussia and Saxony, the Netherlands, Hamburg, and Bremen sent requests from the subjects of these Powers that "their claims for injuries resulting from present hostilities might be identified with those of British subjects."

Meanwhile the position of foreigners at Shanghai was scarcely less endurable than that of their compatriots on the settlement at Canton. The T'aip'ings, encouraged by the marked and important successes they had gained, had pushed their advances towards the sea, and had succeeded in making themselves masters of the Chinese city of Shanghai

(Sept. 7, 1853). The result of this move was that the foreign settlement was virtually in a state of siege, and was only saved from falling into the hands of the rebels by the protecting guns of the fleet and the bold front shown by the local volunteers. It was plain that such a state of affairs could not be allowed to drag on indefinitely; and so soon, therefore, as an Imperial force charged with the recovery of the city appeared on the scene, the French admiral, on the plea that several shots had menaced the French position, opened fire on the walls. When a breach had been effected, a combined force of French and Chinese rushed to the assault. Though the besiegers succeeded in entering the city, they met with such a fierce and determined resistance in the streets that they were compelled to retreat. After this failure the Imperialists contented themselves with watching the city walls until the time came when the rebels, having exhausted their resources, made a fierce sortie with the intention of breaking through the Imperialist lines and of making their escape into the country beyond. In this they were only partly successful. Many were cut down by the Imperialists; fifteen hundred were taken prisoners and executed; the remainder escaped with their lives.

But to return to Canton, where the main issue was being tried. After the relinquishment, due to insufficient forces, of the advanced positions he had gained, Sir M. Seymour contented himself for some days with keeping up an occasional fire against the city walls, in the hope that Yeh, seeing the hopelessness of his cause, might be induced to negotiate. But no sign of yielding was displayed by the obstinate Governor; and Sir M. Seymour, pending the arrival of reinforcements, employed his forces in stripping the city of its defences. In pursuance of this plan he attacked and destroyed a fleet of junks which was moored in a defensive position, and further attacked and captured the Bogue Forts with their garrisons and guns. By an unexpected incident the Americans were induced to take part in weakening Yeh's surrounding defences. On

two occasions boats carrying the Stars and Stripes had been fired into by the Chinese; and in retaliation Commodore Armstrong detached a force to capture the barrier forts, which, it will be remembered, had been occupied and afterwards evacuated by Admiral Seymour, and to destroy a fleet of boats which were anchored in support of the position. In both exploits he was successful, and once more the Chinese saw their forts demolished and their much-vaunted fleet destroyed.

Prior to these events the American Minister had determined in agreement with his French colleague to withdraw all American citizens from the foreign settlement, and to leave the protection of the factories to the British admiral. The French representative did withdraw all French subjects and ships from Canton; and, after having administered the well-deserved punishment which was entailed by the firing on the American Stars and Stripes, the Americans followed the Frenchmen to Hongkong and Macao.

These withdrawals, coupled with the inability of Sir M. Seymour to undertake active measures, owing to the smallness of the force at his command, encouraged the Chinese in their aggressive attitude, and induced them to harass isolated trading vessels, and to attack individuals whenever the opportunity occurred. More than one foreign lorcha was captured and destroyed between Hongkong and Canton, and several soldiers who had indiscreetly wandered from their comrades were murdered in cold blood. Such deeds were followed by a more general act of hostility. On the night of December 14–15, 1856, fire was set to the foreign factories, which were burnt to the ground. Every effort was made by the fleet to save the buildings, but in vain; and blackened ruins were all that was left of the once-flourishing settlement. Some idea of the growth of the trade which was thus brought to a temporary standstill may be gathered from the fact that the amount of tea exported in 1856 was 87,000,000 lbs., as against 42,000,000 lbs. in 1842, while that

of silk had risen from 3000 bales to 56,000 bales during the same period.

It must not be supposed that the native traders looked on unmoved at this stoppage of trade. In their communications with Consul Parkes they freely expressed their dissent from the policy of Commissioner Yeh, and explained that all their appeals to him had been useless. Possessed of more than the usual supply of Chinese arrogance and obstinacy, Yeh was irrevocably determined to bring the question of admittance into the city to the arbitrament of the sword. In this he was encouraged by his Imperial master's approval, and by the temporary helplessness of the British admiral. By appealing to the ignorance and the avarice of the people he roused their fury against the foreigners. He assured them that the barbarians were "as rude as boars and as eager as wolves," and he offered rewards of a hundred taels for every foreigner brought in whether dead or alive.

With untiring energy Yeh marshalled all the forces at his command against the hated barbarians. He ordered an attack by the Chinese fleet on the two or three British ships which were still anchored off the city. With considerable cleverness the time of low-water was chosen for the onslaught, when, though light-draught junks could move with ease, our ships were powerless to manœuvre. Notwithstanding his disadvantages, however, Admiral Seymour succeeded in driving off the attacking force with considerable loss, and so strengthened his position both on shore and afloat that the Chinese fleet ceased to be an imminent danger.

While affairs at Canton were thus disturbed by war's alarms, the international relations at Shanghai and at the other treaty ports were on a most friendly footing. Of the Chinese it may be truly said that their left hand knoweth not what their right hand doeth. With all their power of combination they have never recognised that they are parts of one great whole. Possibly because of the immense extent of the Empire, in all

our difficulties with China we have never found that the different portions of the country associate themselves in common action, either for or against the foreigner. During the war in the northern provinces, in 1860, we employed Canton coolies for transport; and they even placed the scaling-ladders against the Taku forts, and held them there while our men ascended them to the attack. The same condition of things existed during the Boxer campaign. While war was being actively carried on in Peking and the immediate neighbourhood, there was no break in the peaceful relations existing at Shanghai and elsewhere. In 1857, however, the connexion was so close between Hongkong and Canton that the wave of disorder spread to the British colony, and produced alarm and unrest. Incendiary fires added to the perplexity of the situation; and sailors and marines from the fleet were landed to protect the residences of British merchants.

But a more treacherous weapon was forged for the destruction of the foreign inhabitants. A wholesale attempt was made to poison them by putting arsenic in the bread that was supplied to them on one particular morning. Happily such large quantities were used that the poison defeated its own purpose; and though in several cases health was injured, no death could be clearly traced to it. Strong suspicion fell on a baker named Alum, from whose ovens the bread issued, and who absconded on the evening of the day to Macao, where he was arrested and brought a prisoner to Hongkong. With nine other suspected persons he was put on his trial, but as there was not sufficient evidence against him he was acquitted. The detestation of this dastardly attempt at wholesale murder was deep and universal. Both the ministers of the United States and of France wrote to Yeh, protesting against such a weapon of barbarism being used in civilised warfare, and received in reply ingenious answers in which the Chinese commissioner laid it down that the outrage was merely an act of revenge for private wrongs inflicted on the Chinese by the English, and

that he repudiated the idea of his being in any way associated with it. He further pointed out, with truth, that Hongkong, being a British colony, was altogether outside his jurisdiction. The discovery of papers on captured junks brought to light other plots equally atrocious; and one letter contained an offer of 50,000 dollars and official rank for the murder of Colonel Caine, the deputy-governor, and Mr Caldwell, who held the office of protector of the Chinese.

Meanwhile Sir John Bowring had applied to the government of India for 5000 troops and to the Governor of Singapore for 500, to enable him to open the campaign against the recalcitrant Yeh. While awaiting these reinforcements Admiral Seymour undertook several minor expeditions in the neighbourhood of Canton. In May, 1857, a force under Commodore Elliot engaged a large fleet of war-junks in Escape Creek. After the manner of the Chinese, the commanders of the junks took to flight so soon as fire was opened upon them, leaving sixteen vessels in the hands of the British. Following up his success, Commodore Elliot pushed on to the town of Tangkoon, where he destroyed twelve more junks which were anchored under the guns of a fort. A more serious engagement was fought a few days later near the city of Fatshan. Admiral Seymour in command, with Commodore (afterwards Sir Harry) Keppel as his second, advanced up the river, the admiral taking the left channel by Hyacinth Island and Keppel the right. When opposite the island the admiral attacked and captured an obnoxious fort, and then turned his attention to a fleet of junks which barred his passage, but only for a moment, for he had no sooner opened fire on them than the crews deserted their ships and scrambled on shore, leaving 72 vessels in our hands. Meanwhile Keppel had advanced towards Fatshan and had engaged the enemy, who showed a disposition to stand to their guns, and opened a well-directed fire against Keppel's small force. Nothing daunted, the commodore charged into the fleet and broke the centre. Such

vigour of attack was quite unknown to the Chinese, who incontinently took to flight and left nearly the whole of their fleet in the hands of the victors. Not satisfied with this success, Keppel advanced on Fatshan. As he approached that town he encountered an unusually well-directed fire, which made considerable havoc among his men and sank the boat in which he was. He, however, succeeded in destroying the Chinese fleet, and would have pushed his advantage still further had he not been recalled by a signal from the admiral.

Meanwhile the course of events in China had been carefully followed by the public in England. The mind of the country was divided on the subject; and Lord Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister, suffered a defeat in the House of Commons on the course he was taking with regard to it. As might have been expected, he warmly supported Sir John Bowring and Consul Parkes in their action with regard to the lorcha *Arrow*. At the head of the opposing forces in the House was Mr Cobden, who on Feb. 26, 1857, submitted resolutions condemnatory of the government policy. After a full debate the House divided, and the government were defeated by a majority of 16. This decision Lord Palmerston refused to accept, believing that the nation was with him. He therefore dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The result was the reversal of the decision of the House of Commons; and the government were returned to power with an increased majority. The question of peace or war being thus decided, preparations were pushed on for supplying the 5000 men requisitioned by Sir M. Seymour, and Lord Elgin was chosen as Envoy Extraordinary to represent Great Britain in the negotiations with the Chinese government. Full instructions were given Lord Elgin as to the demands he was to make. These were "(1) reparations for injuries to British subjects, and, if the French officers should cooperate, for those to French subjects also; (2) the complete execution at Canton, as well as at the other ports, of the stipulations of the several

treaties; (3) compensation to British subjects, and persons entitled to British protection, for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances; (4) the assent of the Chinese government to the residence at Peking, or to the occasional visit to that capital, at the option of the British government, of a Minister duly accredited by the Queen to the Emperor of China, and the recognition of the right of the British Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of Trade to communicate directly in writing with the high officers at the Chinese capital, and to send in communications by messengers of his own selection, such arrangements affording the best means of ensuring the due execution of the existing treaties, and of preventing future misunderstandings; (5) a revision of the treaties with China with the view of obtaining increased facilities for commerce, such as access to cities on the great rivers as well as to Chapoo and to other ports on the coast, and also permission for Chinese vessels to resort to Hongkong for purposes of trade from all parts of the Chinese Empire without distinction."

In all the arrangements which had led up to the appointment of a special ambassador the British government had been acting in alliance with France. In 1856 a French missionary, Père Chapdelaine, was murdered on the frontier of Kwangsi and Yunnan. This outrage was vigorously denounced by the French Chargé d'Affaires in China, who was warmly supported by his government. At the instance of the Chargé d'Affaires the Emperor Napoleon formulated certain demands, asserting that if these were not satisfied an expedition would be sent to demand reparation on the spot.

With the memory of the success which had been recently obtained in the Crimea by the dual alliance, the two Powers now proposed to send a joint expedition to China to bring Yeh and his Imperial master to their senses. As a diplomatic colleague to Lord Elgin, the Emperor Napoleon appointed Baron Gros, with General de Montauban as commander of the

troops, while Sir Hope Grant was nominated to command the British force.

Early in the summer of 1857 Lord Elgin left England, and on arriving at Ceylon was met with the news of the Indian Mutiny, and with an urgent appeal from the Viceroy, Lord Canning, for the transfer of the troops destined for China to the more critical position in India. With true patriotism, Lord Elgin at once despatched instructions far and wide "to turn the transports back, and to give Canning the benefit of the troops for the moment"; and it was not until the end of the year that he was in a position to take up the gauntlet thrown down by Yeh. Though he must have known the hopeless nature of the task, he opened the diplomatic campaign by a letter to the Chinese commissioner, in which he set forth the grievances of which British subjects rightly complained, and demanded their removal, adding the request that the city of Canton should be opened to them. Yeh replied, denying the existence of any real grievances, and treating the right of entry into the city as an impossibility. He further advised Lord Elgin to follow the example of Sir George Bonham, who had relegated the question to the future, rather than that of Sir John Davis and Sir John Bowring, who had exerted themselves in the cause in vain. With such an antagonist it was plainly impossible to argue; and, after one or two vain attempts to bring him to reason, Lord Elgin issued a proclamation in the names of the military authorities of France and England, recapitulating the recent course of events and declaring that it had now become necessary to exact by force of arms that which peaceful negotiations had failed to obtain. He further proclaimed that "the military authorities and garrison, Tartar and Chinese of all denominations," were to evacuate the city within the next forty-eight hours; and that in case of a refusal to conform to these terms an assault would at once be made on the city.

Of this proclamation Yeh did not take the slightest notice; nor did the garrison seem to be aware that the allied forces

were gradually strengthening their position opposite the doomed city. Even the landing of some engineers and a detachment of the 59th regiment at a spot chosen for the disembarkation was left quite unnoticed; and no opposition was offered to the landing of the attacking force of the allied troops. It was arranged that the British naval and military forces should occupy the centre and right of the army, while the French formed the left. So soon as the time allowed by the ultimatum had expired, the troops advanced round the eastern face of the city to the heights on the north, while the ships' guns opened a heavy fire on the walls (Dec. 28). The Gough Heights on the northern face of the city were occupied without firing a shot; and the French took possession of the abandoned Lin fort with equal ease. Once or twice the Chinese showed a disposition to attack, but they no sooner came within range of fire than they retreated. Their defence of the north gate of the city was weak in the extreme; and it fell into our hands without the loss of a man. The walls were assaulted at 8.30 A.M., and were carried without more difficulty than that of ascending the scaling-ladders; and this city of 1,000,000 inhabitants was finally captured with but a trifling loss. What the fatalities were on the Chinese side will never be known, but every effort was made to confine the fire of the ships to the city walls and Yeh's yamên; this last building it reduced to ruins.

The inhabited portion of the city of Canton is a dead level, which is dominated by a hill covered with Buddhist temples on the northern side. This was the position occupied by the allied forces, and it was one which gave them complete control of the city, which lay at their mercy. It was naturally concluded that, this being so, Yeh would come forward with some proposals for negotiation. But, true to his character, he remained obstinately silent; and for a whole week matters continued at a dead-lock. Neither side moved, and it was not until January 5, 1858, that the troops were marched into the streets of the town. The people proved to be quite friendly; and without any

resistance the Governor and Tartar general were made prisoners. Yeh however still remained at large, though eagerly sought for, and by none more so than by his old antagonist Harry Parkes. This officer, having secured the cooperation of Commodore Elliot and Captain Key of the *Sanspareil* with a hundred blue-jackets, started off in pursuit of the fugitive. From a Chinese student in the street Parkes finally learned where the commissioner was concealed; and under the direction of this guide and another they traversed the streets of the Tartar city, until the pursuers began to fear that they were being misled. "At last the guide called a halt at the door of a third-rate yamên, which appeared closed and deserted. The doors were forced open, and the blue-jackets were all over the place in a moment. It was evident that they were now on the right scent. The house was full of hastily packed baggage; mandarins were running about—yes, *running* about; and at last one came forward and delivered himself up as Yeh. It was a fine act of devotion, but it did not impose upon Parkes, who had a portrait of the great unseen. The man was not fat enough, and was at once pushed aside, and hurrying on they at last spied a very fat man contemplating the achievement of getting over the wall at the extreme rear of the yamên. Captain Key and Commodore Elliot's coxswain rushed forward. Key took the fat gentleman round the waist, and the coxswain twisted the august tail of the Imperial commissioner round his fist. There was no mistake now; this was the veritable Yeh. Instinctively the blue-jackets felt that it must be Yeh, and they tossed up their hats and gave three rattling cheers[1]."

With the capture of Yeh and the removal of the Governor and Tartar general the government of Canton was abolished; and it rested with the allies to substitute some form of administration for it. After much consultation it was determined to reinstate the Governor in his office, and to appoint three commissioners—two English and one French—nominally to

[1] Wingrove Cooke's *China*, pp. 341, 342.

assist him in his administration, but practically to govern the city. In a despatch addressed to Pih-kwei, the suspended Governor, the allied commanders announced this arrangement, and added that while all cases in which Chinese alone were concerned would be left to the native authorities, those which related to foreigners would be dealt with by the allied commissioners; that no proclamation was to be issued by the Governor or his subordinates until it had been submitted to, and approved of by, the commissioners; and that all depôts of arms, magazines and military stores were to be handed over to the allied commanders. For three years the commissioners governed the city, and under them, as has been said, "a just and equitable rule was substituted for the tyranny which had up to that time disgraced the administration of justice in the city. The change was fully appreciated by the natives, who, for the first time in their existence, had their property guarded and their lives protected."

Having thus put affairs at Canton on a satisfactory basis, Lord Elgin, in agreement with Baron Gros, determined to proceed to carry out his instructions to open communications with the court at Peking. With this intention he went northwards to Shanghai, and from that port he forwarded to the Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces a letter to the Senior Secretary of State at Peking, with a request that he would forward it to the capital. In this communication he briefly recapitulated the course of events which had led up to the capture of Canton, and requested him to invite the Emperor to appoint plenipotentiaries with whom he might negotiate on the many points of international difference. Similar letters were presented at the same time by the Russian, French and American Ministers. The answers in each case were identical in tone, and consisted of despatches not from the Secretary of State but from the Viceroy of the Kiang provinces, who quoted a passage from a despatch from that official which stated that Yeh had been dismissed from office; that a certain

Hwang had been appointed in his place; that the English, French and American plenipotentiaries should return to Canton, where alone they were allowed to communicate with the Chinese authorities; and that the proper place for Count Pontiatine to open negotiations was on the Amur frontier. In these circumstances the only course left open to the foreign Ministers was to advance to the Peiho; and after some delay, due to the non-arrival of ships, they left Shanghai for the north, "in order," as Lord Elgin explained in a further letter to the Chinese Secretary, "that they might place themselves in more immediate communication with the high officials of the Imperial government at the capital." He went on to say that if within six days a duly accredited Minister should meet him at Taku he should be ready to open negotiations with him, but that, if not, he should "consider his pacific overtures to have been rejected, and deem himself to be thenceforward at liberty to adopt such further measures for enforcing the just claims of his government on that of China as he may think expedient."

No answer was returned to this despatch; and, in consequence, the Ministers agreed that an advance up the river to Tientsin should be undertaken. But at the mouth of the river stood the Taku forts bristling with guns; and it was plainly impossible to steam up to Tientsin leaving these formidable works in the possession of the Chinese. It was demanded therefore that the forts should be temporarily handed over to the allied forces. To this demand no answer was returned; and an attack on the forts therefore became inevitable. As the Russian and American Ministers held aloof from the actual assault, it was left to the British and French forces to draw the sword. On the morning of the 20th of May the gunboats of England and France advanced to the attack; and after a bombardment of an hour and a quarter the garrison was driven out and the forts completely dismantled. The first step towards the capital having been

thus gained, Lord Elgin and his colleagues, after waiting a day or two, proceeded up the river to Tientsin, which city they reached on May 30, 1858.

The advance of the allies to a spot so near the capital aroused the Emperor and his advisers from their attitude of contemptuous repose, and at once changed the whole aspect of affairs. In hot haste the Imperial commissioners, Kweiliang and Hwashana, were despatched from Peking with certain powers, and with instructions to prevent any further advance of the allies. It is the invariable practice of the Chinese government, in such cases, to appoint envoys devoid of plenipotentiary powers, in the hope and expectation that the foreign Minister or Ministers may fall into the trap, and having negotiated with them may find their labour lost by the simple expedient of a declaration from the Emperor that his representatives have exceeded their powers. Having been forewarned of this childish artifice, Lord Elgin enquired strictly into the credentials of the envoys, and finding them deficient refused to hold any communication with their bearers.

The Russian and American Ministers were less scrupulous, and concluded treaties with the commissioners, the validity of which was entirely due to the increased powers which were conferred on Kweiliang and Hwashana at the instance of Lord Elgin. "On the 14th of June," wrote Lawrence Oliphant at this time, "Count Pontiatine signed his treaty, in which the chief concessions gained were, the right of correspondence upon an equal footing between the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister, or First Minister of the Council of State at Peking; permission to send diplomatic agents to that city upon special occasions; liberty of circulation throughout the Empire of missionaries only, under a system of passports; and the right to trade at ports at present open, and, in addition, at Swatow, with a port in Formosa, and another in Hainan." In Mr Reed's treaty, "the same privilege of special missions to Peking was accorded to the government of

the United States, and the same additional ports were opened to its trade."

While these negotiations were in progress, the foreign envoys were surprised by the appearance of Kiying, who it will be remembered had concluded the Nanking Treaty with Sir Henry Pottinger. Since that date (1842) Kiying had been raised to the post of Prime Minister, mainly in acknowledgement of the power which he was supposed to possess with the barbarians. On the arrival of the envoys at Tientsin he was, in virtue of this influence, especially commissioned by the Emperor to persuade the unwelcome visitors to send their ships and men back to the anchorage at Taku. As this proposition was one that could not be entertained for a moment, and as he had come unprovided with sufficient credentials, Lord Elgin declined to hold communication with him. The old man therefore retraced his steps to the capital where he was at once degraded and finally was commanded by his Imperial master to commit suicide.

Though during the course of the conferences which led up to the conclusion of the treaties a general agreement existed between the Ministers of England, France, Russia and Germany, there were occasional differences of opinion. Among the main objects on which Lord Elgin had been instructed to insist were the residence of a Minister at Peking, and the right to trade in the interior of the country. These were precisely the conditions which were most resented by the Chinese; and, after the manner of their diplomacy, the Chinese plenipotentiaries, finding that Lord Elgin was determined to insist on the insertion of these two clauses, sought to shake his resolution by gaining over the other envoys to their views. In this last endeavour they were successful; and Baron Gros, as representing the converted Ministers, called on Lord Elgin and urged him strongly to forgo his demands, backing up his contention with the assertion that if they were conceded by the plenipotentiaries they would unquestionably lose their heads

on their return to the capital. But Lord Elgin, rightly considering that the residence of a Minister at Peking was the most important matter to be gained by the treaty, and that next to it was the right of trading in the interior, turned a deaf ear to the Baron's arguments, and on the same day (June 26, 1858) signed the treaty with all due pomp and circumstance. The position of the Ministers of Russia and America in these negotiations was one of great difficulty. They had been instructed by their governments not to take part in any hostile action against the Chinese, and yet they were to benefit under the Favoured-Nation clause in all the advantages gained by the two combatant Powers. They could only, therefore, express their views, and had no power to enforce them. In these circumstances Lord Elgin, though listening to their representations, did not allow them to interfere with his programme.

By the treaty thus agreed upon it was conceded by China that an Ambassador, Minister or other Diplomatic Agent, appointed by the Queen of Great Britain, might reside, with his family and establishment, permanently at the capital, or might visit it occasionally, at the option of the British government. By other clauses it was enacted that missionaries should enjoy the protection of the Chinese authorities; that British subjects should be free to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports which should be issued by their consuls, and countersigned by the local authorities; that British merchant-ships should be allowed to trade upon the Yangtsze-kiang; that, in addition to the five treaty ports, Niuchwang, Têngchou, Taiwan Fu (in Formosa), Swatow and Kiungchow (in Hainan) should be opened to trade; that any British subject desiring to convey produce purchased inland to a port, or to convey imports from a port to an inland market, might clear his goods of all transit charges by payment of a single charge at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., *ad valorem*; that a sum of two millions of taels should be paid by the Chinese government, on account

of the losses sustained by British subjects through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton; and that a further sum of two millions of taels, on account of the military expenses of the expedition, should be paid to her Majesty's representatives in China by the authorities of the Kwangtung province.

The French treaty was signed by Baron Gros the next day; and there remained therefore only the revision of the tariff to make the negotiations complete. While this was in course of arrangement Lord Elgin visited Japan and made a treaty with that island empire. On his return to Shanghai he was met by a communication from Kweiliang and Hwashana in which they stated that the treaty had been extorted from them by force of arms; that the Emperor was resolutely opposed to the residence of a British Minister at Peking; and that their lives depended on Lord Elgin abating his demand. It has been too often the habit of the Chinese government, when forced to sign an engagement of any sort, to do so with the full determination to whittle away the terms which they have reluctantly conceded; and this request put forward by the Imperial commissioners was nothing more than might have been expected. What has always seemed unintelligible is that Lord Elgin, after having made so strong a point of this particular condition, should have consented to modify its terms. In his despatches to the Foreign Office he recommended that, if the Chinese carried out honourably the arrangements for the exchange of the treaties, and duly acted up to the provision of those documents, the British Minister should take up his residence at some other place than at the capital, and should only visit it occasionally as necessity required. The commissioners, having thus "saved their faces" in the sight of their Imperial master, allowed matters to go smoothly. The revision of the tariff was arranged without friction; even the implied acquiescence in the import of opium failed to raise opposition; and Lord Elgin's proposal to visit Hankow on the Yangtsze-kiang met with approval. According to this arrangement Lord Elgin steamed

up the Yangtsze-kiang, and with the exception of a slight engagement with the T'aip'ing rebels when opposite Nanking he met with no let or hindrance in his voyage of twelve hundred miles, there and back.

Meanwhile affairs at Canton were following a most peaceful course. By the firm and conciliatory policy of the allied commissioners the city, which had been one of the most turbulent places in China, had become orderly and law-abiding. Although at first occasional assaults were made on solitary foreigners, these quickly ceased; and life and property became as safe in the thoroughfares of the town as in the streets of London. The armed marches which were undertaken in the surrounding country proved eminently successful, and testified to the fact that the hostility against foreigners which had raged in the province was due rather to the suggestions of the officials than to the instincts of the people.

Before leaving China Lord Elgin wrote a letter of farewell to the Imperial commissioners, in which, having reviewed the course of recent events, he gave them this piece of sound advice: "In now taking leave of their Excellencies, the Undersigned would earnestly impress upon them that continuance of peace depends entirely upon the strict observance of engagements. Between equal nations there is no plan for management: as man is to man, so is nation to nation. There is peace so long as each respects the rights of the other; and there is interruption of peace so soon as either withholds that which is the right of the other, or presumes to claim that which is in excess of his own."

These are weighty words; and it would have been well for the Chinese officials if they had acted upon them. But, though an outward peace followed on the conclusion of the treaties, it was hollow so far as China was concerned, and was to be exchanged for a condition of war with startling suddenness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES.

By a fortunate selection Lord Elgin's brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty; and in April, 1859, he arrived at Hongkong in the execution of his mission. The orders he had received from Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, were precise and to the point. He was on no account to allow himself to be deluded into the mistake of exchanging the ratifications at any place except Peking, although he was empowered to tell the commissioners that her Majesty's government, while not renouncing their right of having a permanent Minister at Peking, would yet be willing that the ordinary diplomatic business should, for a time, be transacted at Shanghai or elsewhere; but that, if any disposition to evade the treaty were shown, he should at once enforce his right to reside in the capital. On reaching Shanghai he was also to announce his arrival to the Emperor's government, and to ask that arrangements should be made for receiving him at the mouth of the Peiho, and for escorting him to Peking.

In the interval between Lord Elgin's departure and Sir F. Bruce's advent, rumours had been rife as to the hostile intentions of the Emperor and his advisers, more especially with reference to preparations which were said to have been made at Taku to prevent the ambassador's entry into the Peiho. Some colour was given to these reports by the action of the Imperial commissioners, who, with all the arts in which Chinese are such adepts, did their best to engage Sir F. Bruce

in the discussion of matters which had already been settled by the treaties, and to dissuade him from going to Peking. It is needless to say that these efforts failed; and in the month of June the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir James Hope, who had succeeded Sir M. Seymour, anchored off the Peiho. It soon became clear that the most sinister rumours were not in excess of the truth. Twice Admiral Hope sent boats, accompanied by an interpreter, to open communication with the shore; and as often the boats were met by hostile crowds who refused to allow Commodore Commerell to land, and showed by unmistakable signs that if an attempt were made to force a landing they were prepared to proceed to extremities. It was observed also that huge iron stakes had been laid in the channel, and that an immense and well-constructed boom had been fixed in the waterway. These obstructions, it was said by those on shore, would be removed in the course of a day or two so as to admit the English gunboats. On the arrival of Sir F. Bruce and his French colleague, Monsieur de Bourboulon, Commodore Commerell was again sent; and, finding the river still closed, presented a demand that a passage should be opened in three days to allow the Ministers to proceed to Tientsin. This limit of time having expired, and the barriers remaining untouched, the Ministers requested Admiral Hope to take steps to clear the river. He therefore, on the 25th of June, sent a force to remove the iron stakes in the outer channel, which they were allowed to do unmolested. These having been cleared away the gunboats proceeded to the boom and had no sooner struck it than a furious fire was opened on them from the forts, with a precision which showed that the guns had been trained upon that spot. Eleven vessels were engaged, but the fire from the forts was so well maintained and so well directed that after a three hours' conflict two gunboats were sunk and the remainder were materially damaged. Admiral Hope was severely wounded by a shot, and the command devolved upon Captain Shadwell.

For some reasons known only to themselves the Chinese ceased firing about six in the evening; and it was determined to land an allied force for an assault on the forts. The troops selected for the attack were British marines and engineers with a detachment of French troops under Commandant Tricault. This force was landed on a mud flat which stretched for about five hundred yards to the walls of the fort. At every step the men sank to their knees in the soft and tenacious soil. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, they struggled on in the face of a rapid and continuous rifle-fire from the forts. To add to their discomfiture, two deep and broad ditches encircled the forts. The first of these was empty at the time, being tidal, and the men struggled down its drenched bank and up the other side as best they could. So deep did they sink, that their rifles became choked with slime and mud. It may well be a matter of surprise, in the circumstances, that a hundred and fifty men and officers reached the ditches, and that fifty men got even as far as the walls of the fort.

The men who had been landed with the intention of escalading the fort believed that scaling-ladders were following them. In this they were disappointed, for early in the advance the ladders had been smashed by the fire of the enemy. Their position was, therefore, desperate. They were powerless to attack, and though they found the only possible cover behind the banks at the sides of the ditches, they were still partially exposed to the enemy's rifles. In this position all that they could do was to remain until nightfall and a rising tide should enable the boats to take them off. Captain Shadwell, who had taken over the command when Admiral Hope was wounded, was now compelled by a similar disaster to yield the direction of affairs to Commodore Commerell. This officer, recognising the hopeless condition of the force, gave the order to retire as soon as darkness came on; and in obedience to it the men struggled back to the boats, which eventually carried them off to the ships. In this engagement

two gunboats were sunk, eighty-nine men were killed, and three hundred and forty-nine were wounded. The crushing nature of the defeat was duly recognised by the admiral, who withdrew with the remainder of his fleet to Shanghai.

On the day before the attack the American Minister, Mr Ward, had attempted to communicate with the Chinese authorities at Taku, and was met by the same stubborn refusal to open communications as had been vouchsafed to Admiral Hope's representatives. He was, however, informed that, though the Peiho was blocked, he might land at Pehtang, a few miles up the coast, where he would meet with officials who would escort him to Peking. The road to the capital thus proposed was that by which the representatives of subordinate States had been in the habit of carrying their tribute to Peking; and it was against any agreement with such a proposal that Lord Malmesbury, with great wisdom and foresight, had warned Sir Frederick Bruce. The event proved the sagacity of the Foreign Secretary's instructions. Mr Ward went to Pehtang, and was there provided with mules and carts to take him to the neighbourhood of Tientsin, where boats were waiting to convey him and his staff to T'ungchow, the port of Peking. From that point they were conveyed in carts to the capital, where their arrival was watched by silent and contemptuous crowds. They were lodged in a comfortable house, but were treated as prisoners, and were not even allowed to communicate with the Russian Minister, who had already taken up his residence in Peking. As in the cases of Lords Macartney and Amherst, the commissioners who had been appointed to negotiate with Mr Ward tried to persuade him to agree to perform the Kotow on admission to the Imperial presence. Mr Ward naturally refused to submit to this degradation; and after many conferences a sort of compromise was apparently arrived at by which "the Minister was to have in front of him a curtained table, so that he would seem to be kneeling." This, however, did not satisfy the Emperor

Hienfung, who at the last moment sent word that he must insist on the Kotow, pure and simple. Upon this Mr Ward broke off all negotiations and was reconducted to Pehtang, where the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged. Here he was met by Commodore Tatnall, who, though he did not take any aggressive action in the attack on the forts, had been moved to volunteer his help to tow the British boats into action. "Blood is thicker than water," he said, when he saw the difficult position in which the British attacking force was placed; and this phrase and the action which followed its use will be remembered as long as the story of the attack on the Taku forts is told.

The news of the disaster no sooner reached Europe than immediate steps were taken by the Powers primarily interested to restore their prestige in the East. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were again appointed by their respective governments to represent England and France, while a force of 10,000 British and 7000 French was despatched to support them under the commands of Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban. Meanwhile Sir F. Bruce addressed a letter to the Senior Secretary of State, which amounted almost to an ultimatum, in which he stated that the British government demanded the acceptance of the following terms:—(1) that an apology should be offered for the acts of the Chinese troops at Taku: (2) that the British Minister should go by way of the river in a British vessel to Tientsin, and thence to Peking, where the treaty of 1858 should be ratified without delay: (3) that full effect should be given to the provisions of the treaties, including the indemnity for the Canton delinquencies. It was added (4) that the agreement arrived at by Lord Elgin and the Imperial commissioners in 1858, with regard to the non-residence of the British Minister at Peking, was at an end: and (5) that, since the Peiho affair had entailed a considerable expense, the contribution which would be required from the Chinese government towards defraying the cost would be greater or less, according to the

promptitude in which the demands above made should be satisfied in full by the Imperial government.

Thirty days were given for the receipt of an answer to this despatch; and, in the case of none being forthcoming within that period, or the answer being unsatisfactory, Sir Frederick warned his correspondent that force would be used. An ultimatum proceeding from a defeated foe is certainly unusual; and the Emperor and his advisers evidently deemed it one which might be safely disregarded. In their reply they traversed the facts on which Sir Frederick had based his demands, graciously informing him that if he came to Pehtang he would receive the ratification of his treaty. "But," it was added, "if you be resolved to bring up a number of war vessels, and if you persist in proceeding by way of Taku, it will show that your true purpose is not the exchange of treaties." And they concluded their remarks by saying, "The despatch written on this occasion is, in much of its language, too insubordinate and extravagant for the Council to discuss its propositions more than superficially. For the future the British Minister must not be so wanting in decorum."

Such was the position of the contending parties when Lord Elgin and Baron Gros reappeared on the scene. So soon as the allied army arrived, no time was lost in proceeding northwards, the British fleet assembling at Talienwan on the Liaotung peninsula, and the French at Chifu. On July 26, 1860, the combined forces anchored off Pehtang, seven miles north of the Taku forts, where it was determined to land. The experience of the preceding year had shown the difficulty of taking the Taku forts from the sea, and it was arranged, therefore, that they should be attacked in rear from Pehtang. The country round that village is a dreary mud flat, and is crossed by a raised causeway connecting Pehtang with Tangku and eventually with the forts at Taku. On August 2 the troops landed; but it was not until the 12th that, stores and

ammunition having been brought on shore, they were able to advance. The forts at Pehtang had been found to be practically deserted, and only nominally held by a few non-combatants, who readily yielded to the blandishments of Mr Parkes, and declared themselves willing to place the obsolete guns, which stood on the ramparts, and the fort generally at the disposal of the allies. Having thus secured a base, the allies were at liberty to advance along the causeway towards Tangku. At first a mere show of resistance was made by the Chinese. There was a skirmish with a body of Tartar cavalry, who were easily put to flight by a discharge of Sir R. Napier's guns followed up by charges of English dragoons. At Tangku the defence was never serious, and that place fell into the hands of the allies with but a very small casualty list.

The defences of Taku consisted of two forts on the northern bank of the river and a larger one on the southern shore; and a question arose between the allied commanders as to which was the key of the position. General Montauban held that the possessor of the southern fort must necessarily command the position, while Sir Hope Grant was of opinion that the upper north fort should be the first point of attack. In this, as in other questions of strategy, Sir Hope Grant's views prevailed; and the combined force marched to the assault. The guns opened fire at seven in the morning of August 21; and at noon the position was taken. Almost immediately afterwards the other forts hoisted flags of truce; and by nightfall the allies were in full occupation. Two thousand Chinese were taken prisoners, while the British loss amounted to 17 killed and 183 wounded, and that of the French to 130 casualties in all.

The way having thus been opened to Tientsin, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros proceeded thither, attended by a strong escort of cavalry and infantry. With that curious power of disassociating themselves from the course of political events which belongs to the Chinese, the tradesmen of Tientsin readily supplied the allies with food, lodging, and means of transport.

The Ambassadors took up again their old quarters; and, as though to revive completely the old order of things, Kweiliang, who had acted as commissioner for the arrangement of the treaty of 1858, reappeared on the scene, once more to play his accustomed *rôle*. With him were associated Hangfu, the Viceroy of the province, and Hangki, who had been well known to foreigners as the Hoppo of Canton. In an unfortunate moment the Ambassadors agreed to open negotiations with Kweiliang, but they soon found that the old device for gaining time was being practised upon them, and that the commissioner's powers were not those of a plenipotentiary. Upon this discovery they broke off all communication and announced their intention of proceeding direct to T'ungchow near Peking, giving it to be understood that they would be ready to conclude the treaties, and that they would subsequently go to Peking to exchange the ratifications. In vain Kweiliang used all his arts to frustrate this programme, and in vain did the Emperor depute Prince I, a Prince of the blood, to meet the Ambassadors on their march and check their advance. But on arriving at Hosiwu, about half way between Tientsin and Peking, a delay in the military arrangements occurred, which the Ambassadors utilised by opening preliminary negotiations with other commissioners who had been sent later to stop their approach to the capital. With these men it was arranged that the allied armies should not advance beyond a certain camping-ground about five miles south of T'ungchow; that the Ambassadors attended by a sufficient escort should proceed to T'ungchow to make the treaties; and that they should then go on to Peking to exchange the ratifications.

Messrs Wade and Parkes were sent in advance to arrange particulars with Prince I and Muyin, who had been appointed to represent the Emperor at the conferences. After a long consultation these matters were apparently well and duly settled; and on the next day, when Parkes, accompanied by Mr Loch (afterwards Lord Loch) and others with a small escort, returned

to T'ungchow to further the arrangements, all was outwardly peaceable. It was not until the next morning, when Parkes rode out from T'ungchow, where he and his companions had passed the night, to inspect the camping-ground, that any suspicion of treachery crossed his mind. On approaching the ground he found large bodies of Chinese troops massed in the neighbourhood with considerable forces concealed in nullahs and in the villages. Rightly judging from these indications that treachery was intended, he sent Loch to the allied lines to tell the Commanders and Ambassadors of the condition of affairs while he rode back to T'ungchow to collect the remainder of his party and to secure their safety. On riding out with them he found that since the morning masses of troops had been brought on to the ground, and that the bearing of the men had undergone a marked change. They were now inclined to block his passage through the lines, and at last they did so, telling him that if he wished to protest he must appeal to the Commander-in-chief, Sankolinsin. Taking with him Loch, who having delivered his message to the allied chiefs had with his usual fearless loyalty returned to his friend in the moment of danger, and an Indian Sowar, Parkes presented himself before the Chinese General, into whose presence he and his companions were dragged, and were then thrown on their knees. With brutal insolence Sankolinsin cross-examined his prisoners and finally ordered them to be bound and carried off to T'ungchow. From this place they, with two Frenchmen and with the rest of the escort which had proceeded to T'ungchow, were taken in carts to Peking; and only those whose fate it has been to travel along the paved causeway between the two cities can form any idea of what their sufferings must have been as they were jolted along it, tightly bound in springless carts. Once before starting they had been taken out for execution, and had at the last moment been saved by the interposition of a mandarin; but the horror of this incident was scarcely more than that which overcame them when they found that on reaching Peking

they were driven into the loathsome prison of the Board of Punishments.

Into the dungeons of this place of torture the prisoners were thrown, and were not even allowed the solace of each other's company, but were separately herded with the lowest and most degraded of the native prisoners. On several occasions Parkes was examined before the officers of the Board, who urged him to write to the allied Commanders directing them to halt their troops. To all such instigations Parkes returned answer that he had no authority or power over the movements of the army. This the mandarins refused to believe; and it was partly due to their incredulity on this point that the lives of himself and Loch were saved. Parkes was in their estimation the most prominent man belonging to the advancing host; and they feared to do him violence lest they should thereby commit an unpardonable sin. On the other hand, they hoped that by a conciliatory attitude towards him the barbarian leaders might deal leniently with them in the hour of victory which they saw approaching. After eleven days' incarceration in the Board of Punishments, therefore, he and Loch were removed to a neighbouring temple (Sept. 29), where, though they were still prisoners, they were treated with courtesy and kindness. Here they were kept until October 8, when they were hurriedly sent off in closed carts to the allied lines. As afterwards transpired, an order from the Emperor for their decapitation reached Peking a quarter of an hour after they had passed through the city gates.

At the time of their capture by the soldiers of Sankolinsin, the advancing allied army had come into collision with the treacherously concealed Chinese troops; and their examination by the Chinese General was cut short by the booming of the guns which announced that the battle had begun. As in all engagements when foreign troops have met Chinese levies in the field, the battle was quickly lost and won. The French attacked the left wing of the army, while the British engaged the centre. After a show of resistance, the much-vaunted troops

of Sankolinsin turned and fled, leaving the allies in possession of the village of Changchia-wan. Immediately on this discomfiture fresh overtures for negotiation were proposed, and were met by the allied Ambassadors with the statement that the return of the prisoners who had been treacherously captured must precede any preliminaries of peace, and that unless this condition was fulfilled Peking would be taken by assault.

As the allied armies advanced between T'ungchow and Peking they again encountered Sankolinsin's army, which had taken up a strong position near Palikiao (the eight mile bridge) on the road to the capital. Here the Chinese made their last stand, and fought with some determination. They were, however, easily vanquished, the French capturing the bridge with a slight loss, and the British completing the victory. This final defeat brought a new negotiator on the scene. On the day after the battle (Sept. 22) Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor, wrote to inform the Ambassadors that the Emperor had gone to Jehol in Tartary, and had given him full plenipotentiary powers to arrange peace. At the same time he stated that the Prince I and Muyin had been degraded. To these overtures the same answer was returned—that the allies would neither stay their advance nor treat for peace until the prisoners were liberated. With a curious inability to read the signs of the times, the Prince replied that the prisoners should be given up so soon as the allies should leave Taku.

The advance was therefore continued; and by a forced march the French pressed forward and took possession of Yuen-ming-yuen, the summer palace of the Emperor. This building, or rather series of buildings, had been the favourite recreation ground of a succession of Emperors, who had lavishly adorned them with choice specimens of everything valuable and rare. The inrush of soldiers into this museum of treasures was the signal for ruthless looting. The palace was given up as a prey; and even the jade mouthpiece of the pipe which the mandarin who had been left in charge was,

with assumed indifference, smoking at the moment, was torn from his lips.

While this scene of destruction was being enacted, the Ambassadors wrote again to Prince Kung, repeating their determination to storm Peking if the prisoners were not at once given up; and it was probably due to this letter, and to the events which had preceded it, that on the next day (Oct. 8) Parkes, Loch, and an Indian Sowar were liberated. Four days later nine others were given their freedom, and these were all who survived the tortures and miseries to which they had all been subjected. Peking was now at the mercy of the allies, who with studied and judicious moderation demanded only the temporary surrender of the Anting gate of the city. This, after a show of objection, was yielded (Oct. 13); and the gate was occupied by the allies.

While these events were occurring, General Ignatieff, the Russian Minister at the Chinese Court, whose name became subsequently so well known in Europe, was resident with his Staff in Peking; and with such skill did he play the part of an *amicus curiæ* that he succeeded in leaving the impression on the mind of Prince Kung that it was due to his interposition that Peking was saved from destruction. He was not, however, unmindful of his relations with the allies, and with much courtesy and feeling offered the solemn hospitality of the Russian cemetery for the bodies of the murdered prisoners--an offer which was gratefully accepted.

The treacherous manner in which the prisoners had been taken, and the brutal cruelty with which they had been treated, were matters which it was impossible to leave unpunished; and Lord Elgin debated long and anxiously on the several forms which the penalty should take. His object was to bring home to the Emperor and his advisers the enormity of the crime which had been committed by their agents and with their full approval. He felt therefore that it should take a shape which would inflict a maximum of punishment on the court, and a

minimum on the people, whom he regarded as innocent of any participation in the atrocities. After due consideration he came to the conclusion that the destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen would best fulfil these requirements, and he proposed to Baron Gros that they should jointly order the destruction of the palace. As Baron Gros, doubting the wisdom of the measure, declined to take part in this act of retribution, Lord Elgin took upon himself the whole responsibility and directed Sir Hope Grant to carry out his instructions. On the 18th of October fire was set to the various buildings of the palace, and in a few hours this treasured retreat of the Emperor was reduced to a heap of ruins.

Meanwhile negotiations had been carried on for the conclusion of conventions between Prince Kung and the allied Ambassadors; and on October 24, 1860, Lord Elgin and Prince Kung signed and sealed that relating to England, while on the following day the French document received signature. The main points in the English convention were the annulment of the understanding arrived at at Shanghai in 1858 to the effect that the British Minister should reside at some place other than Peking; the increase of the indemnity demanded from 4,000,000 to 8,000,000 taels; the cession of Kowloon, opposite Hongkong, to the British crown; and the immediate opening of the port of Tientsin to trade. By the French convention it was especially agreed that the same amount of indemnity as was to be paid to England should be paid to France; and that the religious establishments which had been confiscated during the persecutions should be restored to their proprietors. At the same time that these conventions were signed the ratifications of the treaties of 1858 were exchanged.

While the two Powers which had borne the burden and heat of the day thus received satisfaction, General Ignatieff was by no means inclined to forgo the compensation to which as a friendly intermediary he considered himself entitled; and on

November 14, 1860, he induced Prince Kung to sign a convention by which the territory between the river Usuri and the sea was ceded to Russia, which thus, by a stroke of the pen, acquired the southern portion of the province of Primorsk, or in other words a coast-line extending for seven hundred miles.

The work of the allied Ambassadors having been completed, they made hasty arrangements for leaving Peking before the advance of winter, Lord Elgin only staying long enough to introduce to Prince Kung his brother, Sir F. Bruce, who had received the Queen's appointment as resident Minister at Peking. As the building chosen for the Legation was temporarily unfit to serve its purpose, Sir Frederick returned to Shanghai for the winter, whither Mons. de Bourboulon also repaired, leaving Mr Adkins, of the British Consular Service, to superintend the necessary work during the long months of the dreary winter of northern China.

CHAPTER VII.

THE T'AIP'ING REBELLION.

As former experience had taught lookers-on to expect, the months immediately subsequent to the war were eminently peaceful. British and French garrisons had occupied Tientsin and the Taku forts until the indemnity was paid; and Canton was still governed by the allied commissioners until the sums demanded for the injuries inflicted on the local trade were paid over. In these circumstances everything moved harmoniously, and the first breeze which ruffled the political surface came from Jehol. During the early summer of 1861, rumours reached Peking that the Emperor's health was declining. Though only a young man, thirty years of age, it was well known that dissipated habits had greatly weakened his constitution; consequently there was no surprise when the rumour referred to was followed by the news that "he had become a guest in Heaven" (Aug. 22, 1861). In all Oriental countries the death of the sovereign is apt to be followed by political disquiet; and China is no exception to this rule. Even before the actual decease intriguers had plotted to seize the Imperial power. The leaders in this conspiracy were the Prince I, the Prince Chin, and a courtier named Sushun. The design of these men was to murder the Empress and the Emperor's brother, and to secure the person of the infant heir to the throne. By undue influence the conspirators gained the signature of the dying Emperor to a decree constituting them a regency; and, had it not been for the energy of the

Empress Tz'u-hsi, and of Prince Kung, the Emperor's brother, they would inevitably have gained their point. It was at this period that the Empress Tz'u-hsi first appeared in history. When the allied armies were approaching Peking, and the courtiers were urging the Emperor to seek safety in flight, she alone opposed his going; and, when her opposition to her husband's craven fears proved of no avail, she determined to remain in the capital, and did so until the allied troops entered it. She then followed the Emperor to Jehol, in the hope of being able to induce him to return, but, being again unsuccessful, she insisted, on the death of the Emperor, on taking her infant son back with her to Peking, where she arrived on Nov. 1. There she was able, with the help of Prince Kung, to take measures to defeat the regents. In the name of the infant Emperor, T'ungchih, she issued a decree for the arrest and trial of the conspirators. Having a sufficient military force attached to her interests, she was able to enforce the decree; and as a result the Princes I and Chin were ordered to commit suicide by strangulation, and Sushun was condemned to suffer death on the public execution ground. As a sequel to these drastic proceedings, memorials were presented to the throne, praying that the Dowager-Empresses—Tz'u-an, the childless widow of the late Emperor, and Tz'u-hsi, the lady who had borne him a son and by virtue of this event had been raised to the rank of Empress—and Prince Kung should constitute the regency during the infancy of the five-year-old successor to the throne. The prayer of this memorial was graciously answered, and the two ladies and the Prince took over the reins of power (Nov. 7, 1861).

A few days later the Tsungli Yamên, or Foreign Office, threw open its door to the foreign Ministers; and as a typical example of a circumlocution office, to the torture of all those who were compelled to have dealings with it, it existed as such until the Boxer outbreak in 1900. Since then another office, the *Wai-wu-pu*, has been established in its stead; and it remains

to be seen whether this will prove to be a workable foreign office or only the Tsungli Yamên re-christened. Thus peace was, for the time being, restored; and when a few months later a French missionary and two catechists were murdered in the province of Kweichow the Regents showed every disposition to meet the demands of the French Minister.

The signature of the treaties, and the commercial advantages gained by the nationalities represented in them, aroused the interest and emulation of Europe; and very soon almost all the Western States despatched envoys to Cathay to reap equal advantages with those who had preceded them. Prussia was the first in the field; but the Chinese were disinclined to negotiate with the envoy, declaring, as we may readily believe, that they had never before heard of that kingdom. However, they yielded to the persuasion of the envoy, merely covenanting that he should not reside in Peking until the expiration of five years, when, as they doubtless hoped, a turn of the wheel of fortune might have rid them of the presence of foreigners altogether. In quick succession came Danish, Spanish, Dutch, Belgian, and Italian ambassadors, who had to submit to the lesser dignity of having their treaties signed at Tientsin and ratified at Shanghai.

In 1854, when the native city of Shanghai was in the hands of the T'aip'ing rebels, it was arranged that a foreign committee, consisting of Messrs Wade (afterwards Sir Thomas Wade), Carr, and Smith should collect the foreign customs duties at the port. As Wade was the only member of the committee who spoke Chinese, the management of affairs gradually passed into his hands. On his resignation, about a year later, the Chinese appointed Mr H. N. Lay inspector of foreign customs at Shanghai. Under his administration the system matured and developed, and so entirely had he gained the confidence of the Chinese that, when on the conclusion of the war it was determined to create a fleet equal to modern requirements, he was sent to England to purchase and equip vessels for the

Imperial navy. During his absence the Inspectorate was vested in the hands of a young consular officer named Hart (now Sir Robert Hart), who to this day has administered the department with marked ability and success. In 1863, Lay returned to China with Captain Sherard Osborn, whom he had appointed to command the fleet, but whose ideas of his future position were distinctly at variance with those of the Chinese government. Trained in the English navy, Captain Osborn resented the idea that he should under any circumstances be called upon to obey the behests of provincial Viceroys and Governors. In this view he was strongly supported by Lay, who, finding the Chinese immovable, resigned his position in their service, and was succeeded by Mr Hart.

The opening of the new ports under the treaties greatly enlarged the scope of the Foreign Customs Service, and by the end of 1864 foreign custom-houses were established at fourteen ports in China and Formosa. Since that time trade and consequently the duties have gone up by leaps and bounds, as may be judged from the fact that whereas in 1887 the value of the foreign trade with China was 188,123,877 taels, in 1901 it amounted to 437,959,675 taels.

The restoration of peace further gave to the allied commanders time and opportunity to consider the position attained, and the attitude adopted towards foreigners by the T'aip'ings. The success which had attended the rebellion was seriously affecting the trade of the central and richest provinces of the Empire; and the advance of the rebels towards the sea was threatening Shanghai. In these circumstances the merchants of the port were moved by the instinct of self-preservation to form a Patriotic Association for providing funds for the suppression of the rebellion, and in conjunction with Li Hung-chang engaged the services of an American named Ward for the purpose of raising a foreign corps for the support of the Imperial forces. Ward was an able man, and at the head of a force of three or four hundred foreigners, and afterwards in

command of the "Ever Victorious Army," did good service for his employers. He captured the cities of Sungkiang-fu and Tsingpu, and might have achieved other successes had he not been killed while leading his men to the attack of the city of Tzŭki.

Ward's second in command, Burgevine, another American, succeeded to his post, but being an ambitious man with a violent temper he soon made his position untenable by quarrelling with Li Hungchang and the Patriotic Association. The result was that he was dismissed, and almost immediately afterwards Major Charles Gordon was appointed in his place.

Meanwhile Admiral Hope had visited Nanking to arrange with the "Heavenly King" for the neutralisation of Shanghai and its neighbourhood. The advantages of gaining a sea-port were so obvious that at first the rebel chief was disinclined to come to terms. Eventually, however, he agreed that for one year Shanghai and a radius of thirty miles round it should be considered outside the sphere of operations. Such was the understanding when Gordon took the command; and he was therefore free to take the field untrammelled by fears for Shanghai. In rapid succession city after city fell before him, and he was belauded in Imperial edicts on his display of "both valour and intelligence," both of which qualities (the Imperial writer might have added) were conspicuous by their absence in the native leaders. Next to Nanking, the chief city at that time in the hands of the rebels was Soochow; and by Gordon's capture of Quinsan (Kunshan), the key to this most important stronghold was lost. For some time the rebel leaders had begun to despair of their cause, and negotiations were opened by several of their number for the surrender of Soochow. But the officer in command—Mu Wang—however, was made of sterner stuff. On becoming aware of the action of his subordinates he invited them to dinner to discuss the situation. Words ran high at the table, and at last one of the traitors stabbed Mu Wang to the heart. Their

way was now plain before them, and they made open proposals of surrender to Gordon. These were accepted, and the Wangs, or leaders, were promised their lives. Unfortunately these chieftains went to complete their surrender before Li Hungchang without Gordon's protecting presence, and were treacherously and summarily put to death by Li's command. When the news of this tragedy reached Gordon he, for the first time during the campaign, took a weapon in his hand. He seized a rifle and went in pursuit of Li, who would in all probability have joined his late victims across the Styx had he not fled on receiving timely notice of Gordon's anger.

As a reward for the capture of this important place of arms, the Emperor, in an Imperial edict, thus expressed himself with respect to Gordon:—"His Majesty, in order to evince his approval of the profound skill and great zeal displayed by Gordon, orders him to receive a military decoration of the first rank, and a sum of 10,000 taels." In obedience to this decree Li Hungchang sent messengers in state bearing his Imperial gifts. But Gordon was in no humour to receive money which he regarded as blood-stained, and he incontinently drove the messengers from his presence with ignominy. As a protest against the action of Li Hungchang with regard to the Wangs, Gordon remained for a time inactive. At the end of two months, however, he again took the field, and by skilful generalship helped to reduce the rebels to the one stronghold of Nanking. This doomed city was closely surrounded by the troops of Tsêng Kwofan; and, though "the Heavenly King" dismissed from within its walls the women and children, it soon became evident that the failure of provisions and ammunition would compel the rebel chief to capitulate. On the 19th of July, 1864, this culmination was reached. By the explosion of a mine a breach was made in the city wall; and the besiegers poured into the streets and lanes of the town. Seeing that the end had come, the Heavenly King committed suicide by poison; and his entourage took to flight. This last

victory brought to a close a rebellion which for twelve years had devastated the richest provinces of the Empire, and in course of which many millions of lives had been lost. It directly led also to the disbanding of the Ever Victorious Army, the success and prowess of which had long aroused the jealousy of the Chinese rulers, who were glad to put an end to a force that in every respect compared so favourably with their own effete and miserably armed regiments.

In the following year Sir Frederick Bruce, whose tenure of office had been marked by very friendly relations with the Chinese Foreign Office, retired from Peking and was succeeded by Sir Rutherford Alcock. The last of the foreign occupying forces had now left Chinese soil; and the mandarins saw therefore less reason for keeping the peace than they had done when terrorised by European bayonets. They still, however, professed to be animated by friendly sentiments, and even sent an inferior official, named Pin, as an envoy to the European courts. But as this man had no official diploma he was not received at the capitals, and returned to Peking without having affected in any way the political situation.

A more practical measure was the establishment at Foochow, Nanking, and Shanghai of arsenals and ship-yards. At the first-named port Mons. Giquel, a French naval officer, was put in charge, while Dr Macartney (now Sir Halliday Macartney) was placed in command at Nanking. This last establishment did as useful work as is possible under the corrupt and slipshod system which is inseparable from all Chinese administration. It is useless to put weapons and ships in the hands of a people who do not know how to use them, and are absolutely careless about their efficient maintenance. Like every similar experiment which has been made, this one ultimately failed; and all the hopes which were justified by the first results were destined to be disappointed.

The clause in the French treaty by which it was agreed that all the ecclesiastical buildings and sites which had been

confiscated during the persecutions should be restored to France aroused great irritation in the provinces, and even in so distant a part as Korea, where the keenest opposition had always been shown to missionary effort of every kind. The treaties had opened the eyes of the natives of that dependency to the fact that under its clauses they might be compelled to admit the hated missionaries. Possibly the different status conferred on these emissaries of religion by the treaties had caused them to adopt a bolder attitude. However that may be, a fierce persecution broke out in Korea in 1866, in the course of which two Roman Catholic bishops and nine missionaries, besides a host of converts, were massacred in cold blood.

Such wholesale murders could not be allowed to pass unnoticed; and a French expedition was fitted out to effect reprisals. With ease and despatch Admiral Roze took possession of the city of Kanhwa, where considerable plunder was secured; but, content with that achievement, he steamed back to Shanghai. This somewhat lame and impotent conclusion to an expedition which had been heralded with loud pretensions at Peking—where the French Chargé d'Affaires announced officially to Prince Kung that the action of France involved "la déchéance du Roi [de Corée], et le droit exclusif de l'Empereur, notre auguste Souverain, à disposer suivant son bon plaisir du pays et du trône vacant"—entailed a serious loss of prestige to the tricolour which it was long in recovering. A second expedition, of quite another character, to Korea reflected a still greater stigma on the name of foreigners. It had always been currently rumoured that it was the practice to bury vast stores of treasure in the tombs of the Kings of Korea. The possibility of plundering one or more such tombs excited the greed of a German and an American, named respectively Oppert and Jenkins, who fitted out a vessel, and taking with them the Abbé Féron, a quondam missionary in Korea, as a guide, set sail from Shanghai on their piratical venture. But the Koreans,

having gained courage by the retirement of the French, attacked the invaders and drove them off discomfited.

Already a strong feeling was being manifested in China, against missionaries first of all, and against the interference of foreigners in the internal affairs of the Empire. The cry of the mandarins was "Leave us alone to advance as we desire to advance, along our own lines. We understand our people and have their confidence. Leave us alone." So constantly was this appeal urged, and so fervent were Prince Kung and his colleagues in asserting their ardent desire for reforms, that they imposed on most of the foreign Ministers. They made a complete convert of Mr Burlingame, who since 1861 had represented the United States at Peking. Finding him a ready tool, Prince Kung proposed to him that he should visit the European courts as a representative of China, to advocate the views of the Tsungli Yamên. To this suggestion he readily assented, and resigning his post at Peking by telegraph he started at once for San Francisco on his new errand. Burlingame was a born enthusiast, a ready speaker, but destitute of judgment. The novelty of his position gained for him a ready welcome in the cities of America, and enabled him to negotiate a treaty with the United States in the name of the "Son of Heaven." This was a curious document, and consisted mainly of clauses which provided that the contracting Powers "cordially recognise the interest and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantages of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other for the purpose of curiosity or trade, or as permanent residents. The High Contracting Parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes." As the Chinese had never contemplated giving their representative the power of making treaties in their name, they at first made some difficulty about exchanging the ratifications of this convention. As, however, the document contained nothing

contentious, it was confirmed at Peking; but a comparison of its spirit with the subsequent law of the United States prohibiting the admission of Chinese into America must have given Prince Kung and his colleagues food for reflection. In Europe Burlingame was not so successful as he was in his native land. By the time he had crossed the Atlantic the first halo of romance had worn off; and people asked whether he represented a genuine movement in China or whether he was unconsciously masquerading under false colours. After travelling through the capitals of Europe, where, however, he made little impression, he died in St Petersburg in February, 1870.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSIONARY RIOTS.

THE feeling of distrust which had been awakened in Europe by Burlingame's mission was increased by a series of missionary outrages which occurred in China at the very time when he was proclaiming the advent of a new dawn of civilisation in Cathay. The right of residence in the interior acquired by the treaties had encouraged various missionary societies to establish their emissaries in various towns and cities. Among other places chosen as suitable fields for proselytising was Yangchow on the Yangtsze-kiang. Here Mr Hudson Taylor and others of the China Inland Mission had sought to gain converts to Christianity. For a short time little notice was taken of their proceedings; but before long the common accusation was brought against him of murdering children for the extraction of medicine from their eyes and other parts of their bodies. Placards were issued giving a public character to the charges; and at last the mob, who are always subject to wild and unreasoning panics, attacked and destroyed the mission premises and put the missionaries to flight. On receiving news of this outrage, Mr Medhurst, the British consul at Shanghai, proceeded with a fleet of four men-of-war to Nanking and demanded from the Viceroy, Tsêng Kwofan, an indemnity of 2000 taels, and the erection of a tablet on the house occupied by Mr Taylor expressing regret for the outbreak. Both demands were at once acceded

to—a fact which affords another instance of how much easier it is to settle such difficulties by a show of force on the spot than by writing despatches to Peking.

Almost at the same time a somewhat similar outbreak occurred at Taiwan in Formosa. There, as at Yangchow, missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had opened churches and chapels; and again, as at Yangchow, the monstrous reports of the mutilation of infants were circulated against them. The usual result followed; the churches and chapels were destroyed, and the missionaries had to seek safety in flight. Not content with attacking the missionaries, the officials, at whose instigation the onslaught was made, seized a large quantity of camphor, the property of a British merchant, and refused all redress. Fortunately the English consul was a man who was not afraid of responsibility. Taking with him the two men-of-war on the spot he occupied the forts and town at the mouth of the river leading to Taiwan, the centre of the disturbance. The effect was immediate; the authorities at once conceded all the demands of the consul; that is to say, the camphor monopoly was abolished, full compensation was paid for the destruction of the missionary premises and for the confiscated camphor, and certain well-known rioters were punished. An incident of the same nature occurred at Foo-chow during the same year, which gave rise to much discussion. This event, following closely on the others, and the murder of a French missionary, Père Rigaud, in Szech'uan, helped to throw discredit on the loud asseverations of Mr Burlingame in Paris and Berlin, that the Chinese government was desirous of living on terms of friendship with the foreign Powers.

But a more startling confutation of these assertions was shortly to follow. The establishment of an orphanage under the care of Sisters of Mercy, at Tientsin, had aroused considerable ill-will on the part of people, who credited the sisters with all the horrors which at such times are charged without proof or reason against the missionaries. Unhappily,

while the feelings of the people were thus being stirred up by the promoters of mischief (May, 1879), a peculiarly fatal epidemic broke out in the orphanage; and the rumour was spread abroad that the sisters were murdering their charges wholesale. An angry mob surrounded the building and demanded admission. The sisters, thinking it wise to humour the crowd, invited five of their number to come in and inspect the premises. At an ill moment the French consul, Mons. Fontanier, thinking that the arrangement was derogatory to an institution of France, drove the five inspectors from the building. This action further infuriated the people; and the district magistrate warned the consul that, unless an inspection were submitted to, he would not be responsible for the consequences. The consul refused to listen to these words of warning, and evidently failed to recognise the depth of feeling which had been aroused. The fury of the mob was now directed against him as well as against the sisters; and a surging, stone-throwing crowd collected in front of the consulate. Being now thoroughly alarmed, Fontanier made his way, followed by his clerk, to the yamên of Chunghow, the superintendent of trade. Not getting the assurances he demanded from this official, he rushed out into the crowd, pistol in hand. Of the subsequent details nothing is exactly known; what soon became apparent was that the consul and his clerk were beaten to death. The mob, being now mad with excitement, set fire to the Roman Catholic cathedral, and rushed off to the orphanage to wreak their vengeance on the sisters. It is well to draw a veil over the deeds there done: suffice it to say that the unfortunate ladies were brutally murdered, after having been subjected to nameless barbarities. Happily the orphans were rescued, having been carried off to places of safety before the buildings were burnt to the ground.

Twenty foreigners, including a young Russian and his bride, who were mistaken for French people, were murdered in this outbreak, which can plainly be traced to the work of political agitators, prominent among whom was an ex-rebel

named Chên Kwojui. This man had lately arrived from the central provinces, and had largely participated in the anti-Christian riot at Yangchow, of which mention has already been made. The instant that the news of the Tientsin outrage reached Peking, urgent demands were made for the punishment of the guilty and for compensation for the destroyed properties by the Ministers of France, Russia, and England (one British subject was among the murdered). In response the Viceroy of the province, Tsêng Kwofan, and Chunghow were appointed to enquire into the circumstances of the outbreak. The selection of these two men was unfortunate. Tsêng was old, and anti-foreign in sentiment, while Chunghow lacked the independence and nerve for such a crisis. The result was that delays occurred, and the patience of the foreign Ministers became exhausted. On this occasion Sir Thomas Wade addressed a spirited remonstrance to Prince Kung, in which he wrote, "As to the atrocities committed, although there is no doubt about the popular exasperation, there is the strongest reason to doubt that the destruction of the religious establishments, and the murder of their occupants, were exclusively the work of the ignorant multitude. The chief actors in the affair are stated to have been the fire brigades and the banded villains known as the Hunsing Tzŭ. These were ready for the attack, and as soon as the gong sounded fell in, provided with deadly weapons. They were reinforced by soldiers and yamên followers, and conspicuously directed by a man with the title of Titu (Major-General), the ex-rebel Chên Kwojui....Yet after more than seventy days' delay, what has been done towards the satisfaction of justice?...The guilty magistrates were left for twenty days after the massacre at their posts, their energies being devoted throughout that period, not to the detection of persons guilty of a share in the crime, but to the examination under torture of unfortunate Christians, from whom it was hoped that confessions might be extorted in such a form as to tell favourably for their persecutors[1]."

[1] *Parliamentary Paper.*

This and other protests compelled the Tsungli Yamên to recognise the necessity of taking some decided step; and as a preliminary to this it was deemed necessary to remove Tsêng Kwofan from the Viceroyalty of the province. It was generally felt that there was only one man in the Empire who was capable of dealing effectively with the crisis; and this was Li Hungchang, the Viceroy of the two Hu provinces. On him the Imperial choice fell; and by an Imperial decree he was ordered to proceed at once to Tientsin to take over the duties which were vacated by the transference of Tsêng to the two Kiang provinces. The result of this change of post was immediate. Li has never been charged with holding pro-foreign views, but he saw that in the circumstances nothing was left but to concede the demands made by the foreign representatives. He therefore at once instituted legal proceedings, which resulted in the prefect and magistrates of Tientsin being sent into exile, twenty rioters being condemned to death, and twenty-one banished. A sum of 400,000 taels was paid as compensation for the murder of the Sisters of Mercy; and Chunghow was despatched to Paris to express regret for the murderous outbreak. There being some doubt as to the guilt of certain of those who were condemned to die, sixteen only were executed; and amid the cheers of the crowd these murderers were borne in an extemporised triumphal procession to the execution ground.

In accordance with the arrangement thus arrived at, Chunghow was despatched on his mission. But the times were out of joint. France was in the throes of the revolution which followed on the Franco-German War; and the Chinese envoy, startled by the chaotic political condition, took ship and sailed for New York. From that place of safety he was peremptorily recalled, and eventually he was received at Versailles by Mons. Thiers, to whom he expressed the apologies of his government for the Tientsin outbreak.

The Tientsin massacre once more brought prominently

forward the eternal missionary question. There can be no doubt that there is something to be said for the view of the Chinese government on this controversy. Certain missionaries, principally belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, had been lately in the habit of assuming position and power to which they had no right whatever. They arrogated to themselves official insignia, and attempted, often successfully, to protect their converts in the native courts of justice. These pretensions aroused the anger not only of the officials whose distinguishing badges they assumed, but also of the people, who saw that in all lawsuits a preponderating influence was exercised in favour of those who had made submission to the Roman Catholic Church.

An apt opportunity was therefore afforded the Chinese government to bring the matter forward; and in a circular despatch Prince Kung and his colleagues addressed the foreign representatives on the subject. In this State paper the writers proposed, "(1) that only the children of native Christians should be received into Romish asylums; (2) that, in order to maintain the reserve and strict propriety of Christianity, no Chinese females should enter the chapels, nor foreign women promulgate the doctrine; (3) that missionaries should confine themselves to their proper calling, and should not be permitted to assume an independent style and authority; (4) that they should not interfere in trials in which their native converts were concerned; (5) that passports issued to missionaries should not be transferred, but returned to the Chinese authorities when no longer required, nor should missionaries avail themselves of the passports to go secretly elsewhere; (6) that missionaries should never receive men of bad character into their church, nor retain those of notoriously evil life; and that quarterly reports of the converts should be handed in to the provincial officers, as in the case of Buddhist and Taoist priests; (7) that missionaries should not use official seals nor write official despatches to the local

authorities, nor otherwise act as though they were officials instead of private persons; (8) that no more confiscated land and houses should be restored to the Romish missionaries, and that lands bought as sites for churches should be held in the names of the native church members." The proposals contained in this paper were regarded by the foreign representatives as being so many attempts to contravene the treaties; and, with the exception of Mr Low, the United States Minister, they one and all refused to discuss the points raised. Affairs remained therefore *in statu quo ante*.

But the missionary question was not the only stumbling-block to good relations which had of late years become prominent. There had already been displayed on the part of the officials a rooted determination to minimise so far as possible the rights which had been conferred on foreigners by the treaties. Not only were foreigners personally ill-treated when occasion allowed, but they were subjected in their commercial dealings to illegal exactions, and difficulties were put in the way of their recovering debts from native dealers. On these subjects Sir T. Wade addressed an urgent remonstrance to the Tsungli Yamên, but failed to produce more than expressions of regret from Prince Kung and his colleagues.

Meanwhile the Emperor T'ungchih, whose Imperial duties had, up to this time, been entrusted to the Dowager-Empresses Tz'u-an and Tz'u-hsi, had reached the age of sixteen, a time of life when in accordance with the laws of the Empire he should take into his hands the reins of power. As an outward and visible sign of his thus coming of age, his mother and her colleagues sought among the Manchus for a bride to share his throne. Their choice fell upon a young lady named A-lu-té, the daughter of a Manchu scholar, named Ch'ung-chi, who was described by the Dowager-Empresses as being "gentle, diligent, learned, and serious." T'ungchih's alliance with this paragon took place on March 10, 1872; and at the

same time he assumed the duties of state. These nuptials did not pass off without some diplomatic friction, as shortly before the eventful day a communication from Prince Kung was received at the legations requesting the foreign representatives to forbid their countrymen to appear on the occasion in the streets. Under protests, which in some instances were loudly expressed, the ministers issued the required instruction to their compatriots; but, though it was generally obeyed, there were foreigners who were witnesses of the somewhat tawdry procession which passed between the bride's house and the palace.

The strict exclusion of all foreigners from the State ceremony gave emphasis to a complaint which had long been current that the foreign representatives had never been admitted to court. During the minority of T'ungchih it had been difficult to controvert the excuse of the Tsungli Yamên that it would be contrary to etiquette for the Dowager-Empresses to receive them; but now that the Emperor had assumed the throne no such plea was tenable, and they therefore presented a collective note asking the Emperor to fix a day for their reception. In reply to this note an Imperial decree was issued in which the Emperor said that, "The Tsungli Yamên, having presented a memorial, to the effect that the foreign Ministers resident at Peking having implored us to grant them an audience that they may present the letters of their governments, we order that an audience be granted to foreign Ministers resident at Peking who have brought letters from their governments. Respect this[1]!"

The use of the word "implore" was an instance of the official impertinence which the Chinese government delights to inflict on foreigners; but, though protests were made against it, it was not withdrawn, and after some discussion a lengthy memorandum was drawn up regulating the ceremony. So elated were the Ministers at being received at all, that they were less

[1] *The Peking Gazette*, 1873.

careful than they might have been as to some of the details of their reception. In an unfortunate moment they agreed to accept an audience in the Tz'u-kwang-ko, a hall in the palace dedicated to the reception of Mongolian and other dependent princes, and to military tournaments. To the neighbourhood of this hall the foreign envoys were conducted between five and six o'clock in the morning of June 20, 1873, and were then kept waiting until nine, when on the arrival of the Emperor they were introduced. No serious proposal was made that they should perform the Kotow; and as a matter of fact they made before the Son of Heaven exactly the same obeisances that they would have made in the presence of their own sovereigns. The Chinese Ministers affected surprise that the foreign representatives should have conformed so completely to decorum; and Wên Siang, a principal member of the Tsungli Yamên, had the impertinence to remark to one of them that it was due to their residence in China that they had become so far civilised. As a first step towards a better attitude on the part of the Chinese government this audience may be claimed as successful, but it was not such as should have been offered by any civilised Power to the representatives of friendly States.

For some years a system of emigration had been carried on at Canton and Macao by which it was attempted to arrange that voluntary native emigrants should be carried to Demerara, Cuba and Peru, by English, French, and Portuguese agencies. The difficulty of discovering whether the emigrants were free agents or not had from the first created misunderstandings; and as time went on abuses became more abundant. In their new homes across the sea the emigrants were too often treated as slaves; and in China a system of kidnapping grew up by which a constant supply of unwilling emigrants was procured. Reprisals followed, and mutinies occurred over and over again on the ships carrying their unwilling cargoes abroad. At last matters reached such a pitch that the Chinese government appointed a commission to proceed to the countries where the

emigrants were employed, to examine into the real position of affairs. The report was of so damaging a nature and revealed such gross instances of oppression and wrong that it was determined to put an end to all such organised systems of emigration.

In all the communications between the foreign representatives and the Emperor, Prince Kung had been the intermediary; and it came rather as a shock and a surprise when without warning a decree appeared in the *Peking Gazette* of September 10, 1874, degrading Prince Kung from all his offices on the plea that his language was wanting in respect, and that he had been guilty of several breaches of etiquette. It was known that a party in the palace had been intriguing for his downfall; and it is probable that the charges formulated were intended to conceal that which it was difficult to explain. However, the triumph of his opponents was short-lived, for on the very next morning a decree appeared reinstating him in all his former honours. He had proved himself too useful a man to be cast aside; and, though his enemies were numerous, they were powerless seriously to shake his position.

While the extended foreign relations which had been the result in the Far East of the treaties of 1858 had left the domestic affairs of China much where they had found them, a very different state of things had been brought about in Japan. Just as in the early days of Japan her people had adopted wholesale the civilisation and literature of China, so now no sooner had the light of Western learning dawned on the Land of the Rising Sun than the natives of that State threw themselves into the pursuit of the new knowledge. With a sure and circumspect speed, which is unparalleled in the history of the world, they threw over their feudal system of government, abolished the Shōgun and the Daimios, and established a genuine monarchy under the Mikado. This revolution was not effected without some opposition, but the reformers triumphed all along the line; and at the time of

which we write the new order was fairly secure. From the first the new rulers of Japan had made every effort to gain an established place among the nations. An opportunity occurred at this time (1874) of asserting themselves of which they readily took advantage. Some fishermen belonging to the dependent islands of Liukiu (Loo-choo), who had been wrecked on the coast of Formosa, had been murdered by the native tribes inhabiting the east coast of the island. For this crime the Japanese government held the Chinese responsible, and demanded reparation at Peking. After much discussion the Chinese agreed to the principle that they were liable for compensation, but refused to advance beyond this elementary stage. Finding it hopeless to negotiate further, Okubo, the Japanese Minister, was preparing to leave Peking and to break off relations, when Sir T. Wade intervened, and by the happy exercise of his authority induced the disputants to come to terms. The result was a convention by which each party bound itself to protect the subjects of the other when within its dominions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OPENING OF JAPAN.

THE vigorous assertion of Japanese rights, to which reference was made in the previous chapter, renders it desirable at this point to review the earlier relations between Japan and the Western world, and to recount the events which in the middle of the last century led to the opening of Japanese ports to foreign trade.

To the Portuguese, those great medieval pioneers of discovery, belongs the honour of first visiting the shores of Japan. The existence of the Empire had been made known to Europe by Marco Polo, who spoke of it under the title of Jipangu; and it is probable that one of the chief objects of the voyage of Columbus westward was to discover the island kingdom. But it was reserved for Mendez Pinto to be the first European to reach its shores. It was in 1542 that his ship, the surviving one of three which had started on their voyage of discovery, dropped anchor off Bungo in the island of Kiushiu. The foreigners were well received by the Japanese, who with their natural courtesy treated them as guests and allowed them unrestricted liberty. The weapons and appliances of the strangers were eagerly examined by the natives, who thus first became acquainted with the use of firearms. By agreement it was arranged that every other year a Portuguese ship bringing goods and merchandise should visit Kiushiu; and for some years this arrangement was carried out.

The Japan with which Europe at that time became acquainted did not exactly correspond territorially with the Empire as it now exists. It then consisted of the five large islands of

Saghalin, Yezo (now called Hokkaidō), Hondō, Shikoku, and Kiushiu, besides a host of smaller ones. In the last century Saghalin passed for a time under the dominion of Russia; while the Liukiu Islands, and subsequently Formosa, with the Pescadores, were added to Japan. In the present century half of Saghalin has been recovered, while Korea and other districts on the mainland have come under Japanese control. The group of islands of which the Empire now consists possesses an area of about 150,000 square miles, and stretches from 50° to 21° 48′ N. The country is generally mountainous and boasts of some lofty peaks. The trend of the mountains is from north to south; and among them are numerous volcanoes, which in not a few cases are constantly active. The country is thus eminently volcanic, and earthquakes are of frequent occurrence; so frequent indeed, that the houses are especially built to lessen the effects of the shocks. Made of wood, they yield to the contortions of the earth and generally survive all but the most severe convulsions. The configuration of the islands renders it impossible that the rivers should be either large or long, but they are very numerous and supply abundance of water for all purposes. There are also several lakes, the largest of which, Lake Biwa, is sixty miles long and twenty miles wide.

The coast is fringed with deep bays, inlets, and promontories, and possesses some good and convenient harbours. One notable feature of the country is the inland sea, which lies between Hondō and the islands of Shikoku and Kiushiu. On the shores of this waterway stand many cities, notably Hiroshima, Hiogo, Osaka, and Kobe; and many historical incidents have been associated with it. It was from its waters that the bombardment of Shimonoseki (1864), which had great influence in bringing about the resignation of the Shōgun and the restoration of the Mikado to power, took place; and it was at Shimonoseki that the Chino-Japanese treaty was signed at the conclusion of the war of 1894–95.

The soil of the islands consists mainly of diluvium and disintegrated lava, and is extremely fertile. Rice is the principal crop grown; but tea, the mulberry-tree, the varnish-tree, and many fruit-trees known to temperate climates grow and flourish. Flowers bloom luxuriantly. The camellia grows wild, and the wisteria adds beauty to every landscape. The artistic nature of the people leads them to pay especial attention to flowers; and a Japanese garden is to the lover of colour and form a picture of beauty. Below the surface considerable deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead, mercury, tin, coal, sulphur, and salt are found.

The population of the Empire was reckoned in 1908 at about 49,581,000. The people are light-hearted and pleasure-loving, but intensely patriotic, and brave to a fault. "Thou shalt honour the gods and love thy country" is the first command of the Shinto or national faith; and this spirit has been thoroughly imbibed by the natives, who throughout their past history, as at the present moment, have always shown an indomitable patriotism. They are small in stature, and as such have been nicknamed by the Chinese, *Wo jên*, or "Dwarfs." The inhabitants of the island of Hokkaidō, known as Ainus, present physical peculiarities very different from those of the rest of their fellow-countrymen. They are a hairy race, the faces of the men being almost entirely covered with beard, whiskers, and moustaches, while their whole bodies are often covered with a thick growth of hair. As a rule they possess a stronger physique than the Japanese, but lack the intelligence of that race. They are as peaceable and lethargic as the Japanese are warlike and active. According to the local legend they at one time had their home in the more southern islands, but were driven northwards into Yezo by the invading Japanese.

The climate of Japan may be described as temperate. For two months in the summer the heat is considerable, and the moisture in the air excessive; but during the remainder of

the year the climate is thoroughly enjoyable. The winter is bright and cold; and in Yezo the frosts are severe, but never so severe as in the same latitude on the neighbouring continent.

The early history of the nation consists merely of legends; and it is not until the seventh century that we get on firm ground. As is the case with all their early institutions, it would seem probable that the system of government adopted by the Japanese was borrowed from China. And just as the Chinese Empire, until the advent to power of the Emperor She Hwangti (B.C. 221—206), was divided into a number of semi-independent principalities, so Japan was broken up into a number of feudal States, all owing allegiance to the reigning Mikado precisely as the Chinese princes owed fealty to their overlord. The courses, however, which subsequent political events took in the two countries differed considerably. In China the sovereign attained to Imperial sway by the exercise of force: in Japan, many centuries later, by the voluntary abdication of the Daimios and their followers.

In Japan the decline of Shintoism (the indigenous religion), the growth of Buddhism, with its doctrine of abdication, and the increase of luxury, led the Mikados to withdraw more and more from the government, while the rise of territorial families laid the bases of feudalism. The Fujiwara, a family of the court nobility, were the first to usurp the Imperial prerogatives. After them, the Taira and Minamoto families struggled for predominance; and Yoritomo, the head of the latter, first received from the Emperor (1192) the title of Sei-i-tai-Shōgun (Great General against the Barbarians). Early in the thirteenth century the Hojo family gained power; but their heads ruled as Shikken (Regents), not as Shōgun, the latter title becoming purely honorary. In 1333, the Hojo were overthrown by Takauji, head of the Ashikaga family, who became Shōgun two years later and founded a dynasty which held office till the latter part of the sixteenth century, when a territorial lord, Ota Nobunaga, seized power. On his

death in 1582, he was succeeded by one of his chief generals, Hideyoshi, who restored order and instituted an excellent system of administration. Neither Nobunaga nor Hideyoshi was ever Shōgun, but their successor, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, another victorious general, received the title in 1603. Iyeyasu completed the work of his two predecessors, brought all Japan under his sway, reorganised the feudal system, and on his death in 1616 transmitted a firmly established government to his descendants. He thus founded the line of Tokugawa Shōguns, which continued till the revolution of 1868.

Thus grew up the dual government of the Mikado at Kiōto and the Shōgun at Yedo. The Mikado, or Emperor, the sacred descendant of the gods, was the titular sovereign, and lived in seclusion at Kiōto, enjoying the imperial right of dispensing honours, and the nominal power of adjudicating finally in all political questions. But the Shōgun, or (as he was generally styled by Europeans) the Tycoon, administered the State as its real head; and so fully was his power recognised that in later days foreigners regarded him as sovereign, believing the Mikado to be merely a religious personage, of no political importance at all. The relations between the Mikado and the Shōgun closely resembled those between the *rois fainéants* of the Merovingian line and their masterful *maires du palais*; but the ultimate issue was, as we shall see, very different.

At first, as we have seen (p. 144), the Japanese welcomed visitors from Europe, not only traders but missionaries; but, as time went on, the arrogant conduct of the missionaries, and the fear that they were paving the way for the political subjection of Japan, brought about a revulsion in the attitude of the Government towards all foreigners. In 1549 a native named Anjirō took passage in a ship to Goa, and while there was indoctrinated with the tenets of Christianity. In company with this man, St Francis Xavier visited Japan, and with more zeal than knowledge of the language attempted to preach in the districts of Bungo, Nagato, and

Kiōto. As may be imagined, his success was slight; and owing to this failure and a desire to enter upon the larger mission field of China he left Japan for the island of Shang-ch'uan, where he died on December 2, 1552. With Xavier came another Jesuit, who was followed speedily by Portuguese missionaries from Macao and by Spanish missionaries from Manila. These men obtained successes which had been denied to Xavier; and five years from the time when he first visited Japan there were in the Japanese capital seven Christian churches attended by scores of native converts. For some years these successes went on unchecked; and in 1581 there are said to have been as many as two hundred churches, in which worshipped 50,000 converts.

But, as has so often happened in the annals of the Roman Church, the priests, having found favour in the eyes of the people, waxed fat and kicked. They despatched a native prince to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and claimed for themselves the rights and privileges of the higher officials of the Empire. They disdained to walk on foot among their converts, but insisted on being borne in sedan-chairs with the insignia of state. On one occasion a Portuguese bishop, being carried in a chair, met on the road a minister of State who, after the manner of the country, was accustomed to the obeisances of those whom he encountered. The bishop, however, disdaining to show him even ordinary civility, passed him by without any recognition of his rank. It was such acts as this, together with the general assumption of authority, which alienated the friendly Japanese from the cause of Christianity; and in 1586 there appeared an edict forbidding the people to accept the teachings of the missionaries. At first this peremptory command was not enforced; and it is possible that, if the missionaries had exercised due discretion, they would have been allowed to carry on their work. But they lacked that necessary virtue, and continued to destroy the Buddhist temples and idols which had always played so large a part in the life of the people.

The natural reaction followed; and a bitter persecution broke out. In 1591 upwards of 20,000 converts were put to death.

But there were other reasons besides the indiscretion of the missionaries which led to the change of attitude of the authorities towards Christianity. At the time when the new religion began to attract attention, the Empire was under the rule of Nobunaga, who, while not inclined to adopt the new doctrine, regarded its progress with indifference. It is said that, when urged to extirpate the missionaries and their followers, he replied that there were already thirty-five religious sects in Japan, and that he did not think that the addition of a thirty-sixth would make any difference. He was far more interested in the suppression of the Buddhist monasteries than in the persecution of the Christians, whose zeal in opposition to what they regarded as the heathen worship of Buddha received at least conditional support from Government. But after the death of Nobunaga came a turn of the tide in the fortunes of the missionaries. The force and violence which they had levelled against the Buddhists were now paid back with interest against themselves. In spite, however, of the edicts of the governing powers and the violence of the mob, the new faith continued to make progress. For some years prior to 1590, 10,000 natives were, it was reckoned, annually gained over to Christianity; and the state of affairs certainly seemed to prove the truth of the saying that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church. Both priests and their converts endured persecution of the most cruel kind. They were tortured, sawn asunder, crucified, and burnt at the stake, but they endured all things with a courage and constancy which must command the admiration of all, whatever may be their creed.

The two successors of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, drew a marked distinction between the foreigners who had come to trade and those whose mission it was to preach the Gospel. While the priests and their flocks were suffering bitter persecution, the traders were enjoying the sunshine of com-

parative favour; and the Portuguese merchants grumbled if their profits were less than a hundred per cent.

The news of this commercial prosperity inspired the Dutch to share in the large percentages gained; and in April, 1600, a Dutch merchantman, piloted by William Adams, an Englishman, anchored off the coast of Bungo in Kiushiu. Though the professors of religion were under a ban, these new arrivals were welcomed, and allowed to open factories at Hirado and other places of importance. Their goods supplied wants which had been created among the natives; and the profits which were swept into the foreign coffers rewarded the barbarians for their exile from Europe. It is said that during the first half of the seventeenth century the exports amounted to £450,000 per annum, and the imports to about £700,000.

Side by side with this commercial prosperity still existed a state of bitter religious persecution, which was further intensified in 1611 by the supposed discovery of the existence of a conspiracy among the missionaries and their converts to revolutionise the State, and to reduce Japan to the position of a kingdom subject to foreigners. This discovery produced a fresh batch of denunciatory edicts, under the terms of which 22 Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian Friars, 117 Jesuits, and hundreds of native priests and catechists were embarked by force on board junks and deported from the country. What truth there was in these charges it is difficult to say; but some countenance was given to them by a rising at Shimbara, where many hundreds of Christians broke out into open rebellion and seized an old castle, which they repaired and fortified. With the aid of Dutch guns the native armies recaptured the forts and began a wholesale massacre, in course of which 37,000 Christians lost their lives, many being hurled—so tradition said—from the rock of Papenberg in the harbour of Nagasaki.

It was impossible, however, that in these troublous days the traders should not, to a certain extent, be involved with the missionaries in the hostility of the government; and, though the

Dutch avowed enmity against the Christians, even going the length of fighting against them, they fell under suspicion. In addition, the quarrels which arose between the Dutch and English, coupled with the drain of silver from the country in payment for imports, aroused the opposition of the government; and in 1616 the foreign factories hitherto existing at Hirado and other places were withdrawn. As time went on, the restrictions placed on commercial activity and personal liberty became so severe that traders diminished in numbers; and in the latter half of the seventeenth century the remainder, except a few Dutch who were allowed to remain at Deshima, were ordered out of the country. For two hundred years the Empire was closed to foreigners.

The long silence which had brooded over the land, so far as foreigners were concerned, was destined to be rudely broken in 1853. Attempts had from time to time been made to put an end to the isolation in which Japan had enshrouded herself; but in each case failure had attended these efforts, and it remained for the United States of America to be the pioneer in opening relations with the Japanese.

At the time of which we speak (1853) the Shōgun Iyeyoshi ruled the Empire, while the Mikado remained in strict seclusion at Kiōto. As was inevitable, considerable jealousy existed among the Daimios, or feudal chiefs, at the long supremacy which the Tokugawa family had been able to exercise. As a body the Daimios had always been willing that the man among them who gained the supremacy in war and diplomacy should exercise rule as Shōgun; but that the office should descend in one family for more than two hundred years taxed their patience to the utmost. Owing to this and other causes, to be more fully stated in the next chapter, discontent had for some time been increasing in Japan.

The country was therefore in a divided political condition when, in July, 1853, the American Commodore Perry, with a fleet of four ships of war, arrived off Uraga in the neighbour-

hood of Yokohama. The objects of the expedition were officially proclaimed to be, (1) to effect some permanent arrangement for the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on those islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather, (2) to obtain permission for American vessels to enter one or more Japanese ports, in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, etc., and (3) to dispose of their cargoes by sale or barter. In pursuit of these objects Commodore Perry brought a letter which he was instructed to deliver to the sovereign of Japan, who, in the general ignorance which prevailed of the political condition of the country, was believed to be the Shōgun. The announcement of this intention greatly alarmed the local governor, who in the emergency despatched messengers to Yedo to report the arrival of the Americans to the Shōgun. At Yedo the consternation was not less than at Uraga; and it was further accentuated by the announcement that, if Commodore Perry's request met with a refusal, he should open hostilities. After many and anxious councils it was determined to grant Commodore Perry such things as he wanted at the moment, and to propose to him that as to the question of opening relations with a foreign State would require long and careful consideration, he should leave the coast for a time. To this Commodore Perry assented and set sail, promising to return next spring for his final answer.

During the winter which intervened between the departure and return of Commodore Perry, the Shōgun, worn out by anxiety, or, as some suspected, from the effects of poison, died, and was succeeded by his son Iyesada, the thirteenth of the Tokugawa line. Meanwhile the country was divided, on the question raised by Commodore Perry, between the Joi-i party (the party of exclusion) and the Kai-koku (the party of admission). The former prevailed at Kiōto, in the entourage of the Mikado; the latter at Yedo, among the officials of the Shōgun. Subsequently the former became the O-sei or Restoration party, aiming at the restoration of the Mikado to power; while the

party of the Bakufu—the name by which the Shōgun's government was known—supported the existing political system.

True to his time, Commodore Perry reappeared; and his request was again eagerly debated by the Shōgun and his Council of Daimios. A wide division of opinion prevailed. Some, headed by the old Prince of Mito, were opposed to admitting foreigners into Japan in any circumstances. "At first," these men contended, "they will give us philosophical instruments, machinery, and other curiosities, and will deceive ignorant people. Trade being their object, they will manage bit by bit to impoverish the country; after which they will treat us just as they like, perhaps behave with the greatest rudeness and insult us, and end by swallowing up Japan. If we do not drive them away now we shall never have another opportunity. If we now resort to a dilatory method of proceeding we shall regret it afterwards when it will be of no use."

To this it was replied by the Shōgun and other Daimios that Japan was not in a position to take up arms against the foreign world, and that her true policy was to accept treaties with Western peoples, and so to strengthen herself by learning the arts and sciences of the West, as to enable her to hold her own among the nations. These arguments commended themselves to a majority of the Council; and in consequence a treaty was concluded between the Shōgun and Commodore Perry (1854), by which the ports of Shimoda, in the province of Idzu, and of Hakodate, in the island of Yezo, were opened for the reception of American ships, to be supplied with such articles as wood, water, provisions, and coal. There were also stipulations with respect to the treatment of shipwrecked men, together with an article giving facilities for trading, a most-favoured-nations' clause, and an article permitting the appointment by the United States of consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda, provided that either of the two governments deemed such arrangements necessary.

Shortly afterwards, during the same year, Admiral Sir James

Stirling concluded a similar convention with Japan on behalf of Great Britain. It was in the full belief that the Shōgun was the temporal sovereign of Japan, and as such was empowered to sign treaties, that these agreements were made with him. At Kiōto, however, a very different attitude was taken up regarding them. It was held by the Mikado and his court that the Shōgun had overstepped his powers, and that until the Mikado should give his consent no treaty would be valid; and nothing would induce him to sanction the admission of foreigners on the sacred soil of Japan.

The conventions, which, as we have seen, were concluded with Great Britain and the United States, amounted to little more than preliminary assertions of general friendship, but they introduced the idea of further negotiations, and were followed up by the United States, whose representative, Mr Townsend Harris, concluded a second treaty with the Shōgun in 1857.

By the terms of this document the port of Nagasaki was opened to American vessels, "where they may repair damages, procure water, fuel, provisions, and other necessary articles, even coals, when they are obtainable"; the right of residence at Shimoda and Hakodate was conceded; and the right of trading at these ports was implied rather than directly stated. In the following year (1858), Lord Elgin, having concluded the treaty of Tientsin with the neighbouring Empire of China, steamed over to Yedo, and made a treaty with the Shōgun, which, while conceding all the privileges accorded to Mr Townsend Harris, granted the further right of appointing a Diplomatic Agent to reside in Yedo, and consuls to reside at the ports open to trade. These ports were Hakodate, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki, which were to be opened to trade on July 1, 1859; Ni-igata, which was to be opened on January 1, 1860; and Hiogo, which was to be opened on January 1, 1863. Free liberty of movement was accorded to British subjects within the areas of consular jurisdiction; and it was expressly stipu-

lated that no opium was to be imported. There can be no doubt that the war with China and the successes of the French and British forces, already described, contributed largely to persuade the Shōgun to assent to these things.

The treaties were negotiated in the name of the Shōgun, or Tycoon as he was then generally called by Europeans, who was styled "His Majesty." France and other countries speedily followed suit and acquired the same rights. One of the open ports, Kanagawa, was situated on the Tōkaidō, the great road connecting Kiōto and Yedo, now called Tōkiō; and, as the Daimios and their followers were constantly travelling along this road, it was felt that it would be wise to avoid causes of offence by removing to Yokohama, a fishing village lying at some distance from the route. This was effected, and was probably the means of saving numerous lives.

The signature of the treaties was resented by the Mikado and his supporters, as a usurpation of his powers; and a strong antagonism, by no means confined to words, was engendered between the two factions. In the midst of the controversy which arose, the Shōgun, Iyesada, died suddenly, not without the suspicion of foul play, and was succeeded in his precarious position by Iyemochi, a boy of twelve years of age (1858). But real power was in the hands of Ii Kamon-no-Kami, who had been appointed Tairo or regent by Iyesada, some years before. Between Ii and the party of the Mikado the dispute grew more and more violent. In this unpromising state of affairs Sir Rutherford Alcock and Mr Townsend Harris, representing Great Britain and the United States, arrived at Yedo to open the diplomatic relations which had been provided for by the treaties. This consummation of the policy of the Shōgun brought matters to a climax, and inspired the followers of the reactionaries with the desire to get rid of the barbarians at all costs. To a people actuated by such passions as were now abroad the obvious remedy was the murder of the objects of their hate; and a series of assassina-

tions of foreigners and of persons in their employment followed. "In 1859, on the 25th of August, a Russian officer and two sailors were cut down and mutilated in the streets of Yokohama; and on the 6th of November, the French consul's Chinese servant, dressed in European clothes, was also killed in that town. In 1860, on the 30th of January, Denkichi, Sir R. Alcock's Japanese linguist, was mortally wounded at the very gateway of the envoy's residence; and on the 26th of February two Dutchmen, masters of merchant vessels, were hacked to pieces in the streets of Yokohama." (Adams, *Hist. of Japan*, I. 124.)

But the victims of these assassins were not always foreigners. The antagonism which had grown up between the courts of Kiōto and Yedo was publicly known, and it was felt that anyone who dealt a blow against the Shōgun's faction would be doing the Mikado a service. This feeling ran very high in the case of the Regent Ii, who had taken up an uncompromising attitude towards the Mikado's anti-foreign policy; and in consequence the popular feeling was bitter against him. On the 3rd of March, 1860, he, in common with the other Daimios at Yedo, went to pay his respects to the Shōgun, and on his way to the palace was attacked by a party of *ronins*—literally, "wave men," or swashbucklers—said to be in the pay of the Prince of Mito, who first wounded him with a pistol, and when he got out of his palanquin, presumably to defend himself, cut him down. This murder caused more excitement than surprise in Yedo; and the motive of the murderers was made plain by a paper, which each of the assassins carried in the bosom of his dress, in which it was explained that the pro-foreign attitude of the Regent had brought down this vengeance upon him.

The position of foreigners and those Japanese who favoured their cause was at this time extremely perilous. The Shōgun's government dared not punish anyone for the murder of a foreigner; and all they could do was to isolate the foreigners

so far as was possible, and keep a watchful eye on all *ronins*. They were not, however, always successful in their endeavours to prevent outrages; and in the following year Mr Heusken, a Secretary to the American Legation, was attacked and killed by a party of men when on his way home from the Prussian Legation at night.

On the night of July 5, 1861, a fierce attack was made upon the British Legation, which was then housed in a temple in a suburb of the city. Japanese houses are entirely undefended from attack; and the *ronins* had no difficulty, therefore, in forcing their way in. The gatekeeper, who was aroused by the noise they made, was cut down; and the assailants then made directly for the quarters of the diplomatists. Fortunately they were readily aroused, and, knowing how to defend themselves, eventually succeeded in driving off the attacking party, not, however, before Mr Lawrence Oliphant and Mr Morrison had been severely wounded. In answer to the complaints made by Sir R. Alcock to the Shōgun's government, these last could offer neither punishment of the offenders nor protection for the future; and all they could do amounted, in the words of Sir R. Alcock at the time, "to the adoption of measures for making the condition of all foreigners, ministers and merchants, more and more that of prisoners in close custody, with a still enduring sense of insecurity in the midst of their jailors."

For some time onwards affairs assumed a dark aspect. The powerful Daimios of Satsuma and Chōshiu (or Nagato) formed an alliance with the avowed object of "subjugating and expelling the barbarians." This alliance, though only temporary, had important consequences. On June 26, 1862, a second attack was made upon the British Legation, which was beaten off as on the earlier occasion, but in course of which two British subjects were killed. The history of this attack, as of the earlier one, is shrouded in mystery. That the Shōgun's government knew of the intention they practically

admitted, but unfortunately at the same time they expressed their inability to protect foreigners from similar outrages. The principal assailant was said to have committed suicide, and the government was called upon to pay down £10,000 as compensation to the relatives of the two murdered men.

Far from this outrage satisfying the vindictive feelings of the anti-foreign party, the Mikado gave emphasis to his hatred of Europeans by despatching a high official, escorted by the powerful Daimio of Satsuma, to Yedo, to announce the fixed determination of the Mikado to expel the foreigners. This envoy was the bearer of a despatch in which the Mikado expressed his belief that the presence of foreigners in Japan had been the cause of all the difficulties, political uncertainty, increased cost of living, etc., which had of late afflicted the people; and he went on to order the Shōgun to proceed "to Kiōto to take counsel with the nobles of the court, and, putting forth all his strength, to despatch orders to the clans of the home provinces and the seven circuits, and speedily to perform the exploit of expelling the barbarians and of thus restoring tranquillity to the Empire." To this imperative injunction the Shōgun promised obedience, and would in all probability have at once obeyed the summons of his liege lord, had not succeeding events made his continued presence in Yedo necessary.

As the Prince of Satsuma, with his retinue, was returning from Yedo and passing along the Tōkaidō, in the neighbourhood of Kanagawa, a party of English residents at Yokohama, consisting of Messrs Marshall, Clarke, Richardson, and Mrs Borrodaile met the procession. It was customary in those days for all natives, except those of superior rank, to kneel as a Daimio passed; and, though no thought of yielding such obedience crossed the minds of the riders, they were careful to walk their horses while passing the procession. The fact that the despised barbarians should not even dismount from their horses as a token of respect angered the

potentate, who, as was afterwards proved, ordered his attendants to attack them. This order was instantly obeyed. A man walking in the centre of the procession threw the upper part of his cloak off his shoulders, drew his double-handed sword, and, rushing at Richardson, with one blow inflicted a fatal wound. Others drawing their swords attacked the rest of the party, who with all speed galloped off, but not before Mr Clarke had received a severe wound on the left shoulder. At first Mr Richardson was able to ride off with his friends, but he soon fell from his horse; while the rest of the party, thinking that he was dead, rode on and eventually reached Kanagawa in safety (September 14, 1862).

This gratuitous onslaught and murder produced widespread indignation, which was increased when it was reported (though this was incorrect) that the Japanese had mutilated the remains of their unfortunate victim while life was yet in him. Instant reparation was called for by Colonel Neale, the British Chargé d'Affaires, for this outrageous deed; and, finally, under instructions from the Foreign Office, he demanded the payment from the Japanese government of £100,000, to mark their share in the iniquity, and of £25,000 from the Prince of Satsuma, to be paid to the relatives of Mr Richardson as some compensation for the atrocity. After some demur these two sums were paid; but no amount of political pressure was able to secure the execution of the murderers, who, under the ægis of their Daimio, were securely placed beyond the reach of punishment.

Meanwhile, in April, 1862, Japanese envoys had been sent to London, not with any idea of promoting a friendly alliance, but mainly with the object of securing a delay in the opening of the additional ports which had been promised by treaty. They laid before Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary, statements as to the disturbed state of the country owing to the enhanced price of the necessaries of life, due to the opening of foreign trade, and they asked that some forbearance

should be shown in adding to the areas open to foreign commerce. In reply, Lord John agreed to postpone the opening of further cities and ports until the 1st of January, 1868, but insisted in return that the Japanese government should faithfully carry out the stipulations of the treaty at the already opened ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Kanagawa. Having gained this point, the envoys further urged a number of concessions connected with trade, which, however, Lord John Russell declined to discuss; and they returned to their native land to place on record the partial success of their mission, and to report on the wealth, power, and influence of England.

The position of affairs in Japan had not improved during their absence. Efforts were made to induce the British Chargé d'Affaires to remove the buildings of the Legation which were in course of erection at Yedo to another site at Yokohama; and, when this was refused, the buildings were burnt down. Shortly afterwards the American Legation suffered the same fate; and the Swiss mission was induced by threats to leave Yedo. Meanwhile, in fulfilment of his promise, the Shōgun had come to Kiōto, and to all appearance had adopted the Mikado's policy—so much so that at an audience in the beginning of June, 1863, it was arranged that a general attempt should be made to expel all foreigners from the Empire. In pursuance of this determination an official notice was sent by the Foreign Minister to the foreign representatives which ran as follows, "The orders of the Tycoon (i.e. Shōgun), received from Kiōto, are to the effect that the ports are to be closed and the foreigners driven out, because the people of the country do not desire intercourse with foreign countries. The discussion of this has been entirely entrusted to me by his Majesty. I therefore send you this communication, first, before holding a conference respecting the details."

The foreign representatives expressed surprise and indignation at this announcement, which, as Col. Neale expressed it in acknowledging the communication, was "unparalleled in the

history of nations, civilised or uncivilised," and determined to treat it as an unmeaning menace—an attitude which the presence of a large British fleet in the bay of Yokohama enabled them to assume. That it was meaningless, so far as the Shōgun's Ministers were concerned, was shown by the fact that less than a fortnight afterwards, in apologising for the murder of Mr Richardson, they took occasion to say, "Thus we hope that affairs likely to break off the intercourse between the two countries may not again arise." Nevertheless, Col. Neale continued to urge on the Shōgun's advisers the necessity of punishing the murderers of Mr Richardson. In the end they were obliged to confess that they were unable to bring the culprits to justice. In these circumstances the only course to be pursued was to undertake the punishment of the responsible Daimio; and to this end Col. Neale placed matters in the hands of Admiral Kuper, who at once sailed with part of his squadron to the offending district, and proceeded to bombard the forts of Kagoshima, in the province of Satsuma. With considerable skill and courage the Japanese returned their fire; and the batteries were not silenced when the ships departed, after burning three small steamers belonging to the enemy (August 11, 1863).

The Japanese are the most versatile people in the East; and the battle of Kagoshima produced effects which would be deemed impossible in the case of any other people in the world. It convinced the clansmen of Satsuma that there were other nations more powerful than Japan; and, at once accepting the position, they determined to adopt the civilisation which had given such skill and knowledge to their quondam enemies, and to import from them the machinery and inventions which had contributed to that end. From being the most bitterly hostile clan they became anxious and willing for foreign intercourse.

In other districts foreign relations remained in a very disturbed condition, a fact which was accentuated by the unprovoked murder, in the neighbourhood of Yokohama, of

Lieut. de Camus, of the Chasseurs d'Afrique. This was followed by an invitation to the representatives of Holland and the United States to a conference at Yedo, where it was gravely proposed that, as the country was still disturbed, and as the feeling among the people was hostile to foreigners, the port of Yokohama should be closed. A similar invitation addressed to the British and French Ministers followed, but was declined so soon as the nature of the proposal to be made was disclosed.

A mission which was despatched at this time to Paris and London, ostensibly for the purpose of apologising for the murder of Lieut. de Camus and for the attacks on the British Legation, but in reality to advocate the closing of the port of Yokohama, and for the purchase of ships and guns, was another step towards the better understanding which was soon to follow. The idea of expelling the foreigners began to fall into the background; and, though threats were constantly made that the forces of the Empire were to be summoned for the struggle, it was plain that many at least of the Mikado's advisers shrank from the contest, more especially since they had witnessed the prowess and power of the barbarians at Kagoshima.

Sir Rutherford Alcock returned to Japan to resume his duties as British Minister in March, 1864, and was met by the news of a murderous assault on a British subject, Charles Sutton, at Nagasaki. Like the previous attacks, this one was quite unprovoked; and unfortunately, as on previous occasions, the assailant escaped all responsibility for his crime. The occurrence of this outrage, coupled with the many restrictions upon trade, notably the obstructions placed on the navigation of the Inland Sea by the hostile action of the Prince of Chōshiu, who had repeatedly fired upon foreign ships, induced the Ministers of Great Britain, France, the United States of America, and the Netherlands to hold a conference to consider the position. The result of this conference was that a formal declaration was forwarded to the Shōgun announcing the

necessity of removing the obstructions to the navigation of the Inland Sea in accordance with treaty rights, and the impossibility of closing the port of Yokohama; and warning the government that, if the existing unfriendly attitude were maintained, they could not look for the continued forbearance of the Treaty Powers.

While the political horizon was thus clouded, an event occurred which illustrates the patriotic and self-sacrificing nature of the Japanese, and helps to explain the course of subsequent events. In 1862 several young men had been secretly sent to Europe, to make political enquiries. Among these were two of the Samurai class, Ito and Inouye, who no sooner became aware of the aggressively hostile attitude towards foreigners assumed by their prince than they hurried back to Japan and besought Sir R. Alcock to stay the expedition which was preparing to punish the Prince of Chōshiu for his generally hostile attitude, until they should have been able to persuade their chieftain of the folly of his proceedings. The extended time was readily accorded, but the interposition of the young men turned out to be futile. The Daimio had gone too far to retract, and it only remained for the emissaries to return and report their failure. It is interesting to find that these men were even at that early period impressed with the belief that the wisest course for the foreign Powers to pursue was to turn away from the Shōgun and to deal directly with the Mikado.

The mission having failed, the expedition, consisting of nine British ships of war and a battalion of marines, three French, one American, and four Dutch ships of war, set sail for Shimonoseki, where they had no sooner arrived than the batteries which lined the shore opened a well-directed fire upon them (Sept. 5, 1864). The power and skill of the foreigners were, however, too much for the Japanese gunners; and, after silencing the batteries, the allies, improving on their action at Kagoshima, landed a force which completed the victory. Thereupon the Prince of Chōshiu, recognising the superiority of his

foreign opponents, offered terms of peace and friendship, and despatched an envoy with instructions to negotiate for a termination of hostilities. This was readily granted. The fleets returned to Yokohama; and a convention was concluded with the Shōgun by the terms of which the latter agreed to pay 3,000,000 dollars to the four Powers in lieu of all demands. At the same time, as the "receipt of money had never been the object of the said Powers, but the establishment of better relations with Japan," the Powers expressed themselves willing to forgo the money indemnity if the Shōgun would agree to open to trade Shimonoseki, or some other eligible port in the inland sea. The port was not opened, but the money was paid.

The murder of two Englishmen at this time (1864) again imperilled the relations of foreign governments with Japan. Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, both of the 20th Regiment, were attacked and killed on a by-road near the town of Kamakura. The assault was made by two *ronin*, who had followed the officers on purpose and who believed that they were doing the Empire a service by killing the unfortunate travellers. The murderers were, however, in this case brought to justice and publicly executed.

Notwithstanding this and other acts of violence, a steady current of public opinion was now running in favour of extended relations with foreigners. Satisfactory evidence of this change was seen in an offer made to the foreign representatives by the Prince of Chōshiu to open ports to trade in his principality, and by a declaration that the Mikado was favourably disposed towards a faithful fulfilment of the treaties. At this time the Shōgun was living in the comparative retreat of Ōsaka; and Sir Harry Parkes, who had recently succeeded Sir R. Alcock as British Minister at Yedo, seized the opportunity of sending Mr Mitford (now Lord Redesdale) and Mr (now Sir Ernest) Satow to Ōsaka to obtain a personal interview. The visit ended satisfactorily; and these two pioneers were followed by the French Minister, who had two interviews with the

Shōgun. Subsequently the four foreign representatives presented themselves again at Ōsaka. At the receptions granted every token of respect was shown them; and at their request the Shōgun wrote to the Mikado suggesting the speedy opening of Hiogo to trade. In this he was eventually successful: the local clan signified their approval, and the Mikado, though he at first refused, at length gave his consent. A convention was also made with the Japanese government by which the Japanese trade with foreigners was relieved from the restrictions which had formerly hampered it, and the right of native merchants to hire foreign vessels to trade either at the open ports or abroad was established.

While matters were in this state of transition the Shōgun, whose health had been failing for some time, died (August, 1866). Affairs were not as yet ripe for the abolition of the Shōgunate, and a successor was appointed (December) in the person of Yoshinobu Hitotsubashi, in accordance with the nomination of the late Shōgun. Yoshinobu was generally known by the Chinese equivalent of his name, Keiki.

Shortly afterwards (Jan. 1867), the Emperor Komei died of small-pox. He was succeeded by Mutushito, the present sovereign, who adopted the title of Meiji, or "Enlightened Rule," for his era. No title could have been better chosen. Since his accession to the throne the Empire has made a steady advance in the path of progress, until at the present time it occupies the first place in the Far East, and has gained a position among the foremost nations of the world.

Although the political relations with the foreign Powers were now friendly, there was still danger of acts of violence being committed so long as the two-sworded Samurai were unsuppressed. During the year 1867 several assaults were committed on foreigners. When travelling from Hamamatsu to Kakegawa, Mr Satow was attacked at night in his inn, and barely escaped with his life; and two British sailors were murdered in the streets of Nagasaki. In both cases however

it was proved that the crimes had no political significance; and the authorities did all in their power to bring the criminals to justice. Meanwhile the Shōgun Yoshinobu had been induced (as will be more fully narrated in the next chapter) to resign his office (October, 1867); and the Mikado's authority had been restored.

On Jan. 1, 1868, the city of Ōsaka and the port of Hiogo were opened to trade in compliance with the treaties. The time was opportune, therefore, for an advance of foreign interests by direct negotiations with the Emperor; and Sir Harry Parkes determined to despatch a mission to Kiōto, the capital of the Mikado. Mr Satow and Dr Willis were chosen for the attempt. The result was perfectly successful. The two foreigners were hospitably received, and were allowed perfect freedom to wander about the city, in which no foreigners had ever been permitted to remain before. Nevertheless there were still signs of bitter anti-foreign feeling. The murder of a boat's crew of French sailors by Tosa Samurai for a time darkened the prospect and imperilled the negotiation. M. Roches presented an ultimatum to the government demanding the bodies of his countrymen within twenty-four hours; meanwhile he hauled down his flag and retired to Hiogo, whither he was followed by all his colleagues, who determined to make common cause with him. This resolute action had the desired effect; and the bodies of the officer and ten sailors were surrendered within the prescribed time. The further demands of M. Roches that the murderers should be publicly executed, that an indemnity of 150,000 dollars should be paid for the benefit of the relations of the murdered men, and that an apology should be offered by the government, were all conceded; and the unfortunate incident was declared closed.

From a diplomatic point of view a far more serious attack than that on the French almost immediately followed. At the invitation of the Mikado, the Ministers of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands proceeded to Kiōto to be received in

audience by their Imperial host. On March 23, 1868, Sir Harry Parkes was on his way to the palace, followed by his retinue, when his procession was attacked by two Japanese swordsmen, who wounded several of the escort before they were disabled. One was killed on the spot, and the other expiated his crime on the scaffold, having been degraded from his rank as a Samurai. The Mikado and his Ministers expressed their deep regret at the outrage, and showed in every way their abhorrence of the crime. On the following day Sir H. Parkes was received in audience by the Mikado, who at Sir Harry's suggestion sanctioned a decree which stated that "all persons in future guilty of murdering foreigners, or of committing any act of violence towards them, will not only be acting in opposition to his Majesty's express orders, and be the cause of national misfortune, but also will be committing the heinous offence of causing the national dignity and good faith to suffer in the eyes of the Treaty Powers with whom his Majesty has declared himself bound by relations of amity." With this order, followed soon afterwards by a relaxation of the former edicts against Christianity, the era of resistance to the admission of foreign trade and religion may be said to have closed.

CHAPTER X.

THE REVOLUTION IN JAPAN.

We have traced the steps by which, during the comparatively short space of fifteen years, the admission of foreigners to the Japanese Empire was brought about, and the commerce and ideas of Europe and America came into direct contact with the islands of the Far East. But the opening of Japan to foreign trade was not the most important result which ensued from the visits of Commodore Perry and his successors. The whole social and political system of the island Empire was profoundly modified; and the Japanese nation entered upon an astounding course of development, as radical as it has been rapid, the far-reaching effects of which the world at large is only now beginning to comprehend. The Japanese Revolution, of which the first act was accomplished in 1868, may be regarded as unique in history, perhaps in its results, certainly in its nature; for it was, in the main, by a voluntary act of abdication, inspired by an enlightened feeling of patriotism, that the ancient feudal system of Japan was abolished, and the ruling classes, which for centuries had held undisputed sway, resigned their powers into the hands of the sovereign, in order that the country, by becoming united and centralised, might be enabled to hold its own in the face of the world.

For some time previously the ideas of thoughtful men in Japan had been tending in this direction. Several causes con-

"Dai-Nihon-Shi

tributed to this change. The first of these was the revival of learning. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed in Japan a great growth of intellectual activity. Learning was encouraged by the Shōguns, unconscious of its future results. Iyeyasu himself was a great patron of literature. The study of national history was actively pursued. In 1715 Komon, Prince of Mito, had completed, with the help of a band of scholars, the famous "Dai-Nihon-Shi," or History of Japan. This work was not printed till 1751; but many copies of it passed from hand to hand, and gradually permeated the thought of the country. Its chief result was to bring to light the true nature of the Shōgunate, to show that the Mikado was the legitimate sovereign, and to prove the power of the Shōgun to be an usurpation. Its influence was such that its composer has been styled by Sir Ernest Satow, "the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868." Half-a-century later the great scholar, Rai Sanyo, in his "Nihon-guai-shi," developed and drove home these lessons; and in his "Sei-ki," or political history, attacked the Shōgunate and deplored the decadence of Imperial power.

The growth of learning was accompanied by a revival of the ancient Shinto religion, which, as involving the worship or at least the veneration of ancestors, was closely connected with respect for the divinely descended Imperial family. Buddhism, introduced into Japan in the sixth century of our era, had gradually pushed aside the earlier faith, and, favoured by the Shōguns of the Tokugawa race, had become a sort of State religion. The establishment of the Shōgunate, in alliance with the Buddhist priesthood, was accompanied by the forcible extinction of Christianity and the decay of Confucianism; and, since the early part of the seventeenth century, Buddhism had reigned supreme. Now, however, with the revival of learning and the growing attachment to the Imperial family, Buddhism rapidly lost ground; men reverted to the creed of their ancestors; and the restoration of the Mikado to power

was signalised by the complete dethronement of the Buddhistic religion.

Personal and family ambition added force to these more general and popular motives. Several of the greater noble families, originally of equal rank with that of the Tokugawa Shōguns, resented, more and more, the concentration of power in the hands of their former rivals. The only chance of recovering their lost influence in the State was to set up another power against that of the Shōgun; and this power could only be that of the Mikado. The feudal system had resulted in the elevation of a subordinate to independent control; the mere overthrow of that subordinate, without the provision of an efficient substitute, would have meant disunion, anarchy, and consequent national weakness. The revival of Imperialism offered the only satisfactory solution of these difficulties.

Meanwhile the Shōgunate itself was experiencing a natural decay similar to that which had undermined the power of the Mikado. The theory established by Iyeyasu was that the Mikado, being of divine descent and therefore unable to do wrong, could do nothing at all. He was shorn of all executive authority, which fell entirely into the hands of the Shōguns. But, after the lapse of some two centuries, the Shōguns, like the Emperors whom they had displaced, withdrew more and more from the active exercise of authority, and gave up the control to their subordinates. As they had become practically independent of the sovereign, so the great Daimios gradually became independent of his representative. Justice was neglected. The finances fell into confusion. Certain Shōguns, notably Iyenari (1787–1837), wasted their substance in profuse display. The population increased; privation and its consequence, political discontent, began to be felt; and the anarchy which Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu had sternly suppressed again raised its head. Nevertheless, impervious to new ideas and roused by no danger from abroad—for during two

centuries the Tokugawa Shōguns made it a fundamental part of their policy to exclude the foreigner—these princes slumbered on, believing their power to be eternal, while in fact it was slipping from their hands.

But it was the new conditions which arose in the middle of the nineteenth century, above all the question of foreign relations, which combined the great majority of the influential classes in one overpowering movement, and gave the death-blow to the power of the Shōgun. Animated at first by an instinctive repulsion for the foreigner, the opponents of the Shōgun seized upon his foreign proclivities as the point of attack, and declared his assumption of the right to make treaties with the Western Powers a treasonable usurpation. Subsequently comprehending that, however unconstitutional the action of the Shōgun might have been, his foreign policy was, from the national point of view, not only enlightened but inevitable, the leaders of opinion, with the young Mikado at their head, adopted a new attitude towards the foreigner, and welcomed the influences which they had formerly repelled. But, seeing that these influences would, if passively accepted, be destructive of national individuality and even of national independence, they immediately applied themselves to the reorganisation of their country's forces, and the introduction of a new system, military, financial, educational, legal, and economic, which would enable Japan to resist Western pressure with all the methods and the science of the West. Finally, perceiving, with an insight unique among Eastern peoples, the scope of the national struggle on which they were entering, and the influence of representative government on national cohesion and strength, they resolved to take the people into partnership, and, while scrupulously maintaining the vigour of the executive power, to place the nation, at least partially, in control of its own destinies. The courage, persistency, and wisdom with which they carried out these aims have rightly won the admiration of the world.

The early treaties with the United States and with the European Powers had been the work of the Shōgun Iyesada, or, at least, of his advisers; for the Shōgun himself appears to have been of feeble intellect. The court of Yedo was sufficiently acquainted with the outer world to know that it was hopeless, in the existing conditions of Japan, to reject the advances of the foreigner. The Imperial court at Kiōto, still secluded and ignorant, resented this intrusion and declined to countenance the measures of the Shōgun. In this juncture all depended on the attitude to be adopted by the great feudal lords, hitherto supporters of the Shōgun, but unwillingly bending to his yoke. How far these leaders at this time understood the situation, or foresaw what was to come, existing evidence does not permit us to say. But it is clear that they perceived in the foreign complications and in the attitude of the Yedo government an opportunity of overthrowing the Shōgun and recovering a dominant influence in the State. In this attempt they were aided not only by the nobles attached to the court of Kiōto, but by the general body of *literati*, who enthusiastically demanded the restoration of the Mikado and the revival of antique Japan.

The murder of the Regent Ii Kamon-no-Kami in 1860 (p. 157), and the frequent attacks on foreigners already described, were among the first results of this bitter antipathy. The youth of the Shōgun Iyemochi was a weakness to his party. On the other hand, the heads of the great clans of Satsuma and Chōshiu were long separated by mutual jealousy, and by differences of opinion regarding the policy to be pursued towards the Shōgun and the foreigner. Subsequently united, they at first pursued different ends. Mori, the Prince of Chōshiu (or Nagato), advocated the strongest measures, going so far as to attack the foreign ships and to make war on the Shōgun; while Shimazu Saburo, the head of the Satsuma clan, and his principal advisers, Saigo and Okubo, were generally anxious to bring about an understanding between the Mikado and the Shōgun.

It was probably owing to their influence that, in the year 1860, a marriage was arranged between the young Shōgun and the Mikado's sister, which, it was hoped, would tend to establish amicable relations between the two parties and enable Japan to maintain an united front against the barbarians. Such a result would have attained both the objects which the Kiōto party at this time had in view—the restoration of the Mikado's sovereignty and the expulsion of the foreigner. But the project of conciliation failed. The divergence in regard to foreign policy proved an insuperable obstacle; and the animosity felt towards the Shōgunate constantly increased.

The events already narrated in connexion with the opening of Japan to the foreigner also contributed to strengthen the Imperial party. The battle of Kagoshima and the exaction of heavy indemnities discredited the Shōgun. Pressed on the one hand by the foreigner, on the other by his legitimate sovereign, he found himself between the hammer and the anvil. His visit to Kiōto in 1863 was a sign of his growing weakness; and it has been justly remarked that the Shōgunate really fell, not in 1867, when the formal resignation took place, but in 1863, when Iyemochi yielded to the Imperial commands. Another symptom of waning power was to be found in the falling away of attendance at his court. It had for centuries been part of the political system that the Daimios and their families should reside in Yedo for a certain part of each year. This regulation was now abolished; and the capital of the Shōgun was thus deprived of the pomp and circumstance of state.

Unable, still more from want of character than from circumstances, to take up a strong line, the Shōgun now consented to join the Mikado in reversing his predecessor's policy and in expelling the foreigner. But no sooner did he attempt, by negotiation (see above, p. 161) to carry out his promises, than the effort proved impracticable. The foreigner had come, and intended to remain. Meanwhile the battle of Kagoshima had, as we have seen, converted many persons, including Shimazu of Satsuma, to a different view regarding the foreigner. But

Mori still remained obdurate; and the difference between them was so sharp that Mori was bidden to leave the court. The more conciliatory influence of Satsuma now prevailed. The Shōgun, on his next visit to Kiōto (1864), was well received, and harmony between the two courts seemed restored.

Nevertheless, owing to the weakening of the central power, anarchy began to raise its head. The powerful Mito clan had in former days been among the strongest supporters of the Shōgun. Their chief had turned against the foreigner; but, though opposed to the policy of Yedo, his influence had generally been of a moderating nature. By his death in 1860 this influence was removed. Dissensions broke out in the clan, part supporting the Shōgun, part the Mikado; and, in the fighting that followed, the influence of the clan, and with it the prestige of the Shōgun, declined.

Still more damaging to the young Shōgun was his quarrel with the Prince of Chōshiu. Indignant at the forced withdrawal of their chief from Kiōto, the retainers of Chōshiu demanded permission for him to return. Being refused, they attacked the capital, but were defeated. The Mikado thereupon issued an edict deposing the Prince of Chōshiu, and bidding the Shōgun to punish the clan by force of arms. Attacked at the same moment by the foreign ships, which bombarded Shimonoseki, the clan-leaders gave way for the moment; but subsequently, the warlike party among them getting the upper hand, they raised the standard of rebellion and openly defied the Shōgun. At this juncture the position of the Satsuma clan determined the issue. Had its leaders joined the Shōgun, Mori must have been crushed. But such an outcome would not have suited Shimazu's policy, which aimed at the reduction of the Shōgunate, if not at its abolition. He therefore stood aloof; and the result was that Iyemochi's forces sustained a crushing defeat.

This disaster, followed as it was shortly afterwards by the death of Iyemochi (August, 1866), was fatal to the cause of

the Shōgunate. Iyemochi's successor, Yoshinobu Hitotsubashi (also called Keiki), was the last of the Shōguns. His accession nearly coincided with the death of the Emperor Komei (Jan. 1867) and the succession of Mutushito, under whom a new policy towards the foreigner was to be inaugurated. It is not to be supposed that the new Mikado, then a boy of fifteen, exercised as yet any influence in the State; but the change of sovereign undoubtedly facilitated the completion of the revolution which was creeping over the policy of Kiōto. The exclusive party, though not extinct, was falling into the background; and new men were coming forward. Ito Hirobumi and Inouye Kaoru (who had been in Europe five years before) and Kido Takakoto—all members of the Chōshiu clan; Okubo Toshimichi and Saigo Takamori of Satsuma; Okuma and Itagaki and others of the progressive party, were gaining a dominant influence. Most of the great feudatories, Shimazu, Mori, Yodo of Tosa and others, had been converted. Sanjo and Iwakura brought over the court nobles. These men accepted the inevitable, and resolved that, if they could not expel the foreigner, they would at least turn him to account. The statesmen who ruled at Kiōto, whatever their minor differences, were at least united in their determination to restore the authority of the Mikado, and they were now in a position to combine this restoration with a welcome to the foreigner.

Previously to his defeat by Mori, the Shōgun Iyemochi, hindered by the Kiōto government in his efforts to open the port of Hiogo to trade (p. 166), had placed his resignation in the Emperor's hands. The Mikado refused to accept the offer to resign, but gave way in regard to the opening of the port. The precedent thus set by Iyemochi was now followed, with more effect, by his successor. Several reasons inclined Yoshinobu to take this important step. Shimazu was now in secret alliance with Mori. The expedition against Chōshiu was abandoned; and the Shōgun was thus compelled to accept

defeat. Among the great lords he had now no supporter on whom he could rely. On the other hand, the foreign policy with which his house and office had been identified for fifteen years was now, as it appeared, accepted by the sovereign; and the foreign Powers had therefore no longer any reason to countenance the dual system on which his power reposed. His position had become both intolerable and untenable; and on Oct. 14, 1867, under pressure from the Prince of Tosa, he resigned into the hands of the sovereign the powers which the Tokugawa family had enjoyed for two hundred and sixty years. The resignation was formally accepted by the Mikado, in a decree issued two months later, in which it was stated that "It has pleased the Emperor to dismiss the present Shōgun, at his request, from office." Thus the first stage in the Japanese Revolution was accomplished; and the era of "Enlightened Rule" began.

But, before the new system was able to establish itself on a firm basis, it became clear that the Revolution would not be allowed to take place unopposed. The Shōgun, while renouncing his claim to equality with the sovereign, seems to have had no intention to strip himself of all his prerogatives, or, in particular, to surrender his wide territorial authority, based partly on usurpation and Imperial grants, partly on ancient feudal right, which he shared with other great Daimios of the State. Moreover his many followers, whose fortunes were linked with those of their chief, deeply resented his degradation and the transfer of power to those who had been once his rivals and recently his subordinates. His resistance to such degradation was foreseen by his opponents, who acted without hesitation. On Jan. 3, 1868, a *coup d'état* was carried out, by which the lords of Satsuma, Tosa, Hizen, and others of their party made themselves masters of the palace and, with it, of the person of the young sovereign. Acting by his authority, they straightway established a provisional government, and ordered the Shōgun to surrender his fiefs, and submit entirely to the

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Emperor. Thereupon the Shōgun retired from Kiōto, and withdrew to his castle of Ōsaka. Under the influence of friendly negotiations he was on the point of yielding, when a violent outbreak between his followers and those of Satsuma forced his hand, and drove him to take up a hostile attitude towards the new government.

In the civil war which followed, the troops of the Shōgun were repeatedly defeated. Driven back upon his ancient capital of Yedo, and followed by an overpowering force, the Shōgun made overtures for surrender. His offer was amicably received, and the surrender took place. Slight punishment was dealt out to Yoshinobu's supporters, and the Shōgun himself was pardoned. Stripped of office and of his hereditary dignities he retired into private life, receiving a grant of lands sufficient for his maintenance, but not such as to endanger the quiet of the State (May, 1868). The resistance of his supporters, however, was not yet quelled. The keen sense of honour, which animated all Japanese Samurai, prevented them from yielding, even when they had lost their chief. When the Shōgun shut himself up in Yedo, the bulk of his followers withdrew into more remote districts, and there continued a fruitless struggle. At Hakodate they even attempted to establish an independent republic. It was not till the summer of 1869 that the revolt was put down. A conciliatory policy was followed; and the Mikado's authority was recognised throughout Japan.

Meanwhile the assembly of Daimios, stipulated for by the Shōgun at the time of his resignation, had met; and a form of government was established. At the head of the government a Council of State was instituted, under the presidency of a Chancellor and two Vice-Chancellors. Several administrative departments were created, for the control of the Imperial household, religion, foreign affairs, finance, army and navy, education, justice, etc. At the head of each of these stood a departmental chief or minister. The Council of State consisted of influential men, mostly leaders of the reform party—Saigo of

Satsuma, Kido of Chōshiu, Itagaki of Tosa, Okuma of Hizen, and others. Prince Sanjo was the first Chancellor; Iwakura Tomomi, representing the court nobility, was one Vice-Chancellor; the other was Shimazu of Satsuma. It is said that this arrangement was made in order to appease Shimazu, whose annoyance at the apparent neglect of his clan threatened to upset the new system. In consequence of a similar feeling elsewhere, the ministry was soon afterwards reconstituted so as to give equal representation to the four great clans of Satsuma, Chōshiu, Hizen, and Tosa. At first the Council of State was separate from the Council of Ministers or heads of departments; but this arrangement, subject to obvious inconveniences, was afterwards dropped (1885), and the two councils were fused into one body, closely resembling a Western cabinet.

At the same time the Mikado's government had formally adopted the foreign policy of the rival whom it had supplanted. The necessity of taking this step was partially recognised in the creation of a department of foreign affairs already mentioned. Shortly afterwards a notable memorial was presented to the government by a number of high officers of state, in which, after bidding the rulers of Japan to take warning from the fate of China, the memorialists urged the necessity of learning from the hitherto despised barbarians all that they could teach, and thus enabling the country to hold its own. "In order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Empire and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to take a firm resolution, and to get rid of the narrow-minded ideas which have prevailed hitherto....Let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners, dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese, be reformed; and let the foreign representatives be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed by the rules current amongst all nations[1]." It was on this advice that the

[1] Quoted by Toyokichi Iyenaga, *Constit. Development of Japan.*

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AMAR SINGH COL

Mikado acted in personally receiving Sir Harry Parkes and other foreign representatives in March, 1868.

But the advice of these bold and far-seeing statesmen went beyond the reception of foreign envoys and the opening of trade. It aimed at wide and searching reforms. "The most important duty (they declared) that we have at present is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the condition of the age, in effecting a national reformation, and commencing a great work....By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, and by comparing their daily progress, the universality of enlightened government, the sufficiency of military defences and of abundant food for the people, with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may be plainly traced." In this enlightened spirit the statesmen of Japan set to work, and inaugurated an era of reform.

One of the first steps was to sweep away the abuses of the Imperial court, and to put an end to the obscurantist influences which had hitherto kept the Emperor in sloth and impotent seclusion. With this object the distinction between the court nobility and the feudal chiefs—which had existed for eight centuries—was abolished. With a similar intention the court was removed from Kiōto to Yedo, which henceforth, under the name of Tōkiō, was to be the capital of the country. Accompanied as it was by public appearances of the sovereign before the eyes of his astonished people, this change—carried out, it would appear, on the special advice of Okubo Toshimichi—made it clear to all that the substitution of the Mikado for the Shōgun as a visible and actual head was to be no mere change of persons, but to be the symptom of far-reaching reform.

What was in prospect was more clearly indicated by the solemn oath which was taken by the restored sovereign before the assembly of Daimios, in the second year of the Meiji period (April, 1868). This oath promised the creation of a

deliberative assembly for the discussion of public affairs, the security of personal freedom, the abolition of evil customs, and the adoption of a new system, including measures of national defence, based on careful study and the experience of foreign nations. A deliberative assembly, the Kogisho, was soon afterwards called into being. It met in April, 1869. In its composition it more closely resembled a French assembly of notables under the *ancien régime* than a parliament of the modern kind. Its members were all retainers of the great Daimios; for there was as yet no machinery for popular election, nor is it likely that, in these early stages of the Revolution, the Samurai would have consented to meet their inferiors, the trading classes, in council. Feudal feeling was still strong, and the feudal system was in full force in most parts of the country. It was therefore not to be expected that the Kogisho should display much independence or originality; but it met, and deliberated, and thus paved the way for the approach of a more popular assembly; while the combination of representatives from many clans tended to substitute a sense of nationality for the disintegrating influences of the clan-spirit.

In one respect, at all events, the Kogisho, if it did not exercise any very potent influence on political development, testified to a great change of feeling, and familiarised the important class of the Samurai with the idea of a great reform. The Kogisho, an assembly of feudal vassals, discussed the abolition of feudalism. Its president, Prince Akidzuki, presented a memorial in which, after pointing to the revolt of the Tokugawa party, not yet suppressed, as an example of the evils arising from the present state of things, he urged the great lords to "restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor, and to return to a constitutional and undivided country." "Let them" (he continued) "abandon their titles... and call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving property equal to that which they have hitherto held." In other words, feudal dignities and powers were to be surrendered, but the rights of property were to be respected.

A first attempt at reforming the local administration brought to light the disadvantages and even dangers of the existing system. The Empire was divided for the purposes of administration into cities (Fu) and districts, called Ken and Han. The cities and Ken were ruled by Imperial officers, the Han by officials appointed by the great Daimios in virtue of ancient feudal authority. There were eighteen of these great nobles, called Kokushu, each of whose territories consisted of an entire province. Below them was a second class of nobles, called Ryoshu, whose territories were not so extensive as those of the Kokushu; but practically all were independent in their own domains. From the point of view of their relation to the Shōgun, all nobles were either Fudai—i.e. nobles who had pledged their fealty to Iyeyasu from the first—or Tozama—i.e. those who only did so after his final establishment in power. The division between the Buke (military nobility) and Kuge (court nobility) was a more real and important distinction than either of the preceding. The great lords or Daimios exercised, within their districts, full rights of jurisdiction and administration, including even the right of coining money. They were personally invested with their fiefs by writ of the Shōgun until his abdication in 1867.

Out of more than 300 districts, those directly subject to the Shōgun's authority numbered less than fifty. Out of the total public revenue raised from these districts only about one-sixth passed into the Shōgun's exchequer. The scanty resources of the new government naturally proved inadequate to the strain already placed upon them; and the voluntary contributions of the nobles afforded but an insufficient and precarious relief. Such a situation, it was clear, could not long continue.

In this dilemma two distinguished members of the Samurai class came forward with a radical proposal. Kido Takakoto and Okubo Toshimichi, retainers respectively of the Chōshiu and Satsuma clans, succeeded in persuading their chiefs to unite in a great measure of self-abnegation, and, as they had

forced the Shōgun to surrender his powers to the Mikado, so to follow his example by yielding up their feudal rights. The lords of Hizen, Kaga, and Tosa joined with those of Satsuma and Chōshiu; and these great nobles, with some other Daimios, laid their ancestral privileges at the foot of the throne. It was the "4th of August" of the Japanese Revolution; but the rights surrendered by the Japanese nobles went far beyond those abandoned in that famous sitting at Versailles.

In the memorial with which they accompanied their gift, after confessing that their feudal rights, like the power of the Shōguns, originated for the most part in force or usurpation, they proceeded: "The country where we live is the Emperor's land; the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the lists of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws...all proceed from the Emperor. Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him." (Iyenaga, *Const. Development of Japan.*)

The example of the leading Daimios was soon followed by most of the lesser men; and in July, 1871, the era of feudalism, which had lasted for over eight centuries in Japan, was brought to a close by a laconic Imperial decree, in the words: "The clans are abolished; and prefectures are established in their place." The Han (feudal districts) were reduced in number and re-modelled so as to bring them into harmony with the Fu and Ken. The feudal lords were at first retained in their position as governors, but subject to Imperial control. One-tenth of the revenue arising from their former fiefs was apportioned to the lords in the form of pensions; the rest passed into the Imperial treasury. Their retainers, the old Samurai, received the honourable title of Shizoku, with pensions more or less

befitting their rank. Subsequently the feudal governors handed over their functions to Imperial officials, receiving annuities in lieu of their salaries; and the pensions of the Samurai were commuted (1873)[1]. Nothing, probably, in the whole course of this remarkable Revolution is more striking than the unselfish patriotism which led the bulk of these men—there were four hundred thousand of them—warriors by birth and tradition, sensitive to anything like dishonour, to give up their swords and their class privileges, and to become ordinary citizens. The nobles retained high positions and ample incomes; but their retainers surrendered almost all that hitherto had seemed to make life worth living.

The abolition of feudalism completed the second stage in the Revolution. One of the first measures which resulted from it was the emancipation of the peasants. Before the restoration the peasant had been merely a tenant of the land which he tilled. To the feudal lord he did suit and service, performed onerous tasks, and paid taxes limited merely by the goodwill of his superior or the length of his own purse. By a series of laws passed between 1868 and 1874 the peasant was freed from these oppressive ties, without compensation to his landlord, and became absolute owner of his former tenancy. Instead of the feudal dues a land-tax was now levied, which, though by no means light, was a sensible alleviation in comparison with the burdens that the peasantry had hitherto endured.

The next step consisted in the remodelling of the military system. Hitherto the duty and distinction of military service had belonged to the Samurai alone. It was obvious that, if the abolition of feudalism were to be more than an empty phrase, military power must pass into the hands of the State; while it was equally clear that the old system was inadequate to provide

[1] The money required for this purpose was provided by a loan of £1,000,000 raised in England.

satisfactorily for the national defence. Accordingly, the duty of universal military service was laid upon all classes of the nation alike (Dec. 28, 1872), the army being divided, in the German fashion, into troops of the line, a reserve or Landwehr, and a national levy or Landsturm. Military service begins at the age of 20. Three years are passed under the flag, four years in the reserve; while all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of 17 and 40 are liable to be called out in time of national danger. The national forces were placed on a modern basis, and were drilled and organised according to European methods. European officers were imported for this purpose; but, as was also the case in their universities, the Japanese had no sooner mastered the military science of the West than they dispensed with such foreign assistance. The feudal fortresses were, for the most part, dismantled; the rest passed into the hands of the State. Two separate departments, for the Army and the Navy, were created. Dockyards and arsenals were established, together with colleges for instruction in the art of war. Finally the supreme command of the national forces was declared to reside in the sovereign alone[1].

While the military forces of the country were thus being Europeanised, the greatest activity was displayed in the introduction of all that machinery of Western civilisation which tends to strengthen, unite, and enrich the State. In 1870 the first railroad in Japan, that between Tōkiō and Yokohama, was commenced. It was opened in 1872. Hiogo and Kiōto were next united; then Kiōto and Otsu. The progress of railways was slow at first: ten years after their commencement they only attained a total of 78 miles. But with the increasing wealth of the country the pace quickened. In 1891 the railway system had grown to 1200 miles; and by the year 1909–10 it had reached the astonishing total of about 5000 miles. Steamers also

[1] The conscription law was altered after the Russo-Japanese War (see below, p. 451).

multiplied rapidly, those of foreign build being quintupled in number between 1870 and 1878. Japanese steamship companies were also established in and after 1875.

A system of telegraphs was commenced so early as 1868, and made rapid progress. At the outset the people cut down the telegraph poles; but within ten years all the important towns had telegraphic communication with each other; and in 1879 Japan joined the International Telegraph Convention and thus linked herself telegraphically with the outer world. The postal system followed a similar course. A general postal service was established immediately after the Restoration, on the basis of an equal charge for any distance; and so early as 1877 Japan entered the International Postal Convention. In these circumstances trade and industry made great advances. A Bourse and a Chamber of Commerce were established at Tōkiō in 1878. The total of imports and exports increased from about £3,500,000 in 1869 to £6,500,000 in 1879. By the end of the century it had grown to over £50,000,000[1].

Education was at the same time stimulated and organised. Colleges of an academic type had been established at Yedo (now Tōkiō) in 1857, under the government of the Shōgun, for the study of foreign languages and science. In 1858 a school of European medicine was founded. The Imperial government took over the patronage of these institutions, and gradually created out of them the present flourishing University of Tōkiō. Another University was subsequently founded in Kiōto. The professors in these colleges were at first largely foreign; the scholars showed an almost excessive ardour for imbibing the learning of the West. Nor was elementary education neglected. In 1871 the Ministry of Education was reorganised, and began to make its beneficent activity felt all over the country. Schools spread rapidly; and during the twelve years following on the overthrow of feudalism the

[1] Reckoning the *yen* at two shillings.

public and private schools increased to some 30,000, with upwards of 97,000 teachers and about 3,300,000 pupils. In 1884 the study of English began to form part of the curriculum of the public schools.

The social and political influence of these schools was incalculable. Not only did they instil a new idea of the State, and of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, but they exercised a levelling tendency and helped to eradicate the prejudices of class and to obliterate the social distinctions which had hitherto split up the community. The superiority of the Daimios and the Samurai was undermined; and, if it be too much to say that noble, tradesman, and peasant were placed on an equality, at least an avenue was opened by which the humblest lad might hope to reach a dignified position. A sort of democracy of letters and education was substituted for aristocracy and privilege. Individual teachers, such as Fukuzawa, inculcated democratic maxims and taught that "government exists for the people, not the people for the government"; and in this progressive country they were allowed to teach. "The ministry of education and the system of universal military service," says Von Siebold, "have, between them, contributed more than any other institutions to weld Japan into one political whole."

Closely connected with the spread of education were the changes in religious policy which followed on the Restoration. The former intolerant attitude was gradually abandoned. Buddhism lost its privileged position. The possessions of the temples were secularised; the financial support of the State was withdrawn; the temples fell into ruin; and the priests wandered about in poverty. Shintoism again became fashionable, but was not allowed to claim exclusive rights. In 1876 the ministry of public worship, established after the Restoration, was abolished; and religious freedom was eventually adopted as a principle of state in the constitution of 1890. The growing enlightenment both of the authorities and the people showed

itself in the practice of vaccination, and the introduction of the European calendar (1873). Of still greater importance for the political education of the masses was the rapid spread of newspapers, first sanctioned in 1871. Within thirteen years of that date their numbers had attained to over 100, with a total circulation of some 350,000. Books and translations from foreign works were published in constantly increasing quantity.

It is not surprising that these rapid and sweeping changes should have led to a demand for the extension of political rights and for some form of constitutional government, vaguely promised by the Emperor in his famous oath of April, 1868. A powerful impulse in this direction was given by the reports of the commission or embassy sent to Europe shortly after the overthrow of feudalism (1871). This commission was presided over by Iwakura Tomomi, who was accompanied by four statesmen, Kido Takakoto, Okubo Toshimichi, Ito Hirobumi, and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi, all of whom held high offices of state and had been active in the cause of reform. They were attended by a large staff of secretaries from the various departments of the ministry. The ostensible object of this embassy was to announce and explain to foreign governments the changes that had taken place, and to endeavour to obtain a revision of the treaties which placed Japan in a sort of tutelage under the European Powers. But their still more important function was to collect information about European institutions, laws, and methods of government, and to examine, at first hand, the working of the state-machine in the most enlightened countries of the West.

A revision of the treaties proved as yet impracticable; and many years were to elapse before Japan freed herself from the bonds which her weakness had allowed foreign nations to impose. But the results of the embassy upon the internal progress of Japan were immense. Some of the envoys, like Ito, had already adopted, from personal acquaintance with Europe and Europeans, a belief in representative govern-

ment; others became convinced of its superiority through their visit to the West. But the leaders, with remarkable insight, appear to have perceived not only the benefits, but also the disadvantages and dangers of popular government. They were willing to take the people into partnership, but they shrank from giving it supreme control. They refused to copy slavishly the institutions of any State. From those of England, France, Germany, and the United States they culled what they thought likely to be beneficial to their own country; they took time to consider; and they produced eventually, in the Constitution of 1890, a system which, though not without defects, aims, and so far has aimed successfully, at combining popular influence with centralised control, efficiency with public discussion, power with liberty.

But to speak of this is to anticipate events. Much was yet to happen before the ideals of Okubo and Ito and their friends could be realised. It was not to be expected that all the former possessors of power or influence should look with favour on a change which deprived them of their privileges, and merged them in the masses of their fellow-countrymen. It is true that most of the leaders in the Revolution belonged to the ranks of the Samurai, and that some of these men had risen to the highest positions in the State. But the bulk of this formerly influential class could not expect equal good fortune; and to them the Revolution meant social degradation and the loss of political prestige. To these sentimental sources of discontent were added others of a material nature. Many of the Samurai, deprived of their monopoly in the calling of arms, and cut off from their adherence to their former chiefs, took to agriculture and commerce. Unaccustomed to the methods of business, they wasted their savings and the funds produced by the commutation of their pensions, and, thus cast adrift in poverty and distress, were exposed to the ridicule of the commercial and industrial classes, whom in better days they had despised. They naturally fell back on their ancient ways,

became disturbers of the public peace, and sought to recover by force of arms what they had lost by policy. A lawless class of swashbucklers—the Ronin or masterless Samurai—had long existed; and their numbers were now largely increased by the break-up of the old order, till they became a serious danger to society and the State.

Moreover, among the leaders themselves threatening dissensions arose. Such dissensions had, as we have seen, been rife before the Revolution took place; the rapid progress of events since 1868 brought forward new causes of divergence. To what extent personal jealousies and political disputes contributed, respectively, to the troubles of 1874–77, it is difficult, from the want of published evidence, to say. But about the earlier of these dates a question of foreign policy occurred which brought them to a head.

The Korean difficulty had already emerged. The connexion of Japan with Korea had always been intimate. Through Korea Japan had imbibed from China arts, letters, and religion. The importance of Japanese influence in Korea, as an area of commercial expansion and a source of food-supply, was already apparent to the minds of Japanese statesmen. Moreover, the southward advance of Russia had begun to inspire alarm. The Crimean War, which synchronised with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, had forced Russia to seek compensation in the Far East. The Amur was found to supply a useful means of communication with the Pacific; and the Anglo-French expeditions of 1857–60 (above, caps. V, VI) enabled Russia to pose as the friend of China, and to extort from her the Treaty of Aigun, by which the eastern coast of Manchuria down to the northern boundary of Korea, and including the harbour of Vladivostok, was ceded to Russia. That Power soon settled itself firmly in the ceded districts; and a year later a Russian ship attempted the annexation of the island of Tsushima, commanding the Straits of Korea, but was warned off by the British admiral commanding in those parts.

Nor was this the only threatening line of Russian advance. Half a century earlier the Russians had begun to lay hands on the island of Saghalin, which extends for a great distance along the eastern coast of Manchuria. The island was claimed by the Japanese, who had fishing colonies there; and collisions with the Russians took place. The Russians advanced even as far south as the island of Yezo, and plundered villages there in 1806. Then, for some time, nothing more was heard of Saghalin; but nearly half a century later the cessions to Russia on the Amur brought forward the question again. An attempt was now made to divide the island by an imaginary line drawn along the parallel of the fiftieth degree of latitude. But it was soon found that the Russian colonies had extended far south of that line; and, though the disturbed state of Japan for a time prevented the Japanese from opening negotiations on the subject, it was determined, when in 1867 political matters had to some extend quieted down, to send a mission to St Petersburg to bring about a more satisfactory arrangement. The course of the negotiations was instructive. When the envoys produced their copy of the treaty of 1862, by which the island was divided between the two Powers, the Russians feigned ignorance of it, and offered certain of the Kurile islands in exchange for the whole of Saghalien. To this the Japanese objected on the ground that the Kurile islands belonged to Japan; and it was finally arranged that the subjects of the two Powers should occupy Saghalien in common; which meant, as the Japanese subsequently found out, its complete occupation by Russia. The arrangement offered by Russia had to be accepted a few years later; and Japan recognised Russia's right to Saghalin, in consideration of the recognition by that Power of the Japanese claim to the Kurile islands (1875).

Two years before this date the Iwakura embassy had returned from Europe, deeply impressed by the power and activity of the Western world, and especially by the aggressive designs of Russia. A memorandum drawn up by Okubo

Toshimichi declared that "Russia, always pressing southwards, is the chief peril" for Japan. It is not surprising, then, that the safeguarding of Japanese interests in Korea became the first aim of Japanese policy. But as to the best way of gaining this end a grave difference of opinion manifested itself. A strong party in the government urged immediate war; and plans for the conquest of Korea were formed in 1873. But the majority of the ministry displayed that spirit of caution and self-restraint which, combined with singular audacity, has recently marked the counsels of Japan. Okubo and Iwakura, clearly as they perceived the danger, perceived as clearly that, in the existing conditions of Japan, war with such a Power as Russia would be disastrous. The peace party carried the day; the struggle for Korea was deferred, as it turned out, for twenty years; and the ministerial advocates of a forward policy, Saigo Takamori, Yeto Shimpei, Itagaki Taisuke, and others, resigned.

One of the first results of this schism was to give a fresh impulse to the cause of constitutional reform. So early as the year 1873 Itagaki had sent in a memorial to the government praying for the establishment of a representative assembly. On his resignation he formed a political society, known as the Rishisha, which pressed his views on the nation and ultimately became the nucleus of a powerful liberal party. The government rejected the memorial as premature, but nevertheless made some cautious advances towards the end in view. The local governors were summoned to a conclave in Tōkiō, not to discuss high politics, but to advise on matters of local interest, the improvement of communications, the regulation of public meetings, and the like. In 1875 a Senate, called Genro-in, composed of prominent officials and leading men, was instituted for purposes of legislation. This Senate continued to sit until superseded by the full Parliament in 1890.

But the more ardent spirits were dissatisfied with the progress of affairs, rapid as it was. Others appear to have been influenced by personal motives, and saw with bitter

jealousy the concentration of power in the hands of former rivals or colleagues, many of whom were "new men," sprung from what they regarded as an inferior class. But conservative and reactionary elements were the main factors in the disturbances that were at hand. The old feudal and clannish spirit was not dead; the old family ties were still strong; and the causes of discontent already described continued to increase. Grievous disappointment was felt by many of the Samurai who had welcomed the changes of 1868 as a step towards the long-dreamt-of restoration of old Japan, now so rapidly passing away before their eyes. The learned classes, brought up in the old Chinese school, resented the introduction of the Western learning which they still despised. Meanwhile, the spread of newspapers and education, the introduction of Western inventions and institutions, and a variety of social changes, excited and disturbed the public mind. Thus, conservatives and reformers, feudalists and centralists, business men and politicians, were alike discontented, though from different motives, and anxious as to the ultimate tendency of things. The result was a general condition of agitation and unrest, which led to local disturbances and deeds of violence, and eventually culminated in a rebellion that seriously threatened the safety and cohesion of the State.

In 1874, Yeto Shimpei, formerly Minister of Justice, who had resigned office on the Korean question, retired to the district of Saga, and, gathering round him a body of his discontented followers and like-minded politicians, raised the standard of revolt. The rebels expected to receive assistance from Saigo Takamori; but he was not ready to rise. The rebellion was premature; the insurgents were defeated by the forces of the Government; and in a short time the leaders paid the penalty of their rashness with their lives.

Two years later similar outbreaks took place in Kumamoto and Hagi. In the former place the movement was distinctly reactionary; its leaders detested the new order of

things. In the latter, the leader, Mayebara Issei, was a Samurai who had played a distinguished part in the Restoration. He had subsequently risen to high office, but, like Yeto Shimpei, had differed from his colleagues and resigned. In both cases the rising was suppressed without difficulty; and the leaders committed suicide or were captured and put to death. Meanwhile the Korean difficulty was settled in a peaceable manner—very annoying to the war-party, but satisfactory to the government—by a treaty which opened Korea to foreign trade (1876).

These events strengthened the hands of the government, and enabled them to meet, with experience and prestige, the far more dangerous Satsuma rebellion of 1877; which, had it coincided with, instead of following, the other revolts, might have had a different result. Saigo Takamori, who had been commander-in-chief of the army, had withdrawn, on his resignation, to Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, where he had complete influence over his fellow-clansmen, whom he trained carefully in a private military school. The remoteness of his place of refuge, at the extreme south of the island of Kiushiu, facilitated this process. In Kagoshima he was joined by Kirino Toshiaki and Shinowara Kunimoto, officers of high rank, and by warlike followers from several other prefectures; and Satsuma became a focus of militant reactionism. Alarmed at these signs of defection, the government took precautionary measures, which hastened the outbreak. The insurgents seized the arsenal of Kagoshima; and Saigo, who appears for some time to have hesitated to take the final step, eventually put himself at the head of the rebel forces, on the pretext that it was necessary to remove the disloyal and insidious influences that surrounded the throne (Feb. 1877). A desperate civil war ensued.

For some time success trembled in the balance. Sanguinary battles were fought; and the movement showed signs of spreading to the neighbouring provinces. The insurgents laid siege

to the fortress of Kumamoto; and upon its relief the fortunes of the State appeared to depend. At this critical juncture the government managed to dissuade Shimazu Saburo, the real chief of the Satsuma clan, and his son Tadayoshi, the nominal chief, from joining the rebels; and, aided by this division in the province, the Imperial troops were enabled to effect the relief of Kumamoto (April 14). The insurgent forces now broke up; but the struggle was maintained with great determination in various parts of the province. In July and August the chief strongholds of the rebellion were reduced, and the rebels were driven northward and hemmed in at Enotake; but, suddenly breaking out, they made a desperate dash upon Kagoshima. In that neighbourhood they were again surrounded, and were eventually overthrown, after a long and sanguinary conflict, at Shiroyama (Sept. 24, 1877). Saigo Takamori, having been severely wounded, ended his stirring and adventurous life by ordering a trusted lieutenant to cut off his head; other chiefs fell on the field of battle; and the rebellion was finally stamped out. The struggle had been very severe, but its results were decisive. All the forces of the Empire had been called out in the effort against disunion; the expense, in blood and treasure, was enormous; and a heavy debt was incurred. But the new order of things had finally triumphed; henceforward the government was secure; and, though isolated outbreaks still occasionally occurred—notably the Saitama rising in 1884—the peace of the Empire was generally maintained, and the conflict of opinion was carried forward on constitutional lines.

It was not to be expected that, during this time of trial, much constitutional progress should have been made. The meetings of local governors were suspended for two or three years; but, when the forces of disorder were crushed, the political advance was renewed. Firm in their belief that national strength must in future depend on a wise trust in the people, the Emperor and his advisers showed no signs of

reactionary tendencies, but held on their course of gradual reform. The murder of the great statesman, Okubo Toshimichi (1878)—an act of vengeance perpetrated by former followers of Saigo—did not affect the progress of events. In 1878 the local governors again met—this time to discuss local taxation, the organisation of local assemblies, and other matters of political import. Edicts respecting local administration, based upon these discussions, were subsequently issued. In 1879 the important step was taken of establishing local assemblies in the prefectures and larger cities. These assemblies were representative bodies, elected by and from the people, on the basis of a wide but not unrestricted franchise[1]. Although their powers were confined to deliberation and petition, they formed useful channels for the discovery and organisation of public opinion, and trained the people for the responsibilities of self-government.

Meanwhile Count Itagaki and his friends continued their constitutional agitation in favour of reform. In 1877 they presented a long and reasoned memorial to the sovereign, urging the government to redeem the promise vaguely made in 1868. "Nothing (they said) could tend more to the well-being of the country than for your Majesty to put an end to all despotic and oppressive measures, and to consult public opinion in the conduct of government. To this end a representative assembly should be established, so that the government may become constitutional in form. The people would then become more interested and zealous in looking after the affairs of the country; public opinion would find expression; and despotism and confusion would cease. The nation would advance in civilisation; wealth would accumulate; internal troubles and foreign contempt would be at an end; and the happiness of your Imperial Majesty and of your Majesty's subjects would be secured."

[1] The property qualification for electors was the payment of £1, for members that of £2 in land-tax.

Under these and other influences public opinion rapidly consolidated itself in favour of reform; and thus there arose a strong and well-organised Liberal party, the Jiyu-to, under the leadership of Itagaki. Within the circle of ministers Okuma Shigenobu strongly urged the claims of the reformers to attention; and he resigned in 1881 in order to forward them more freely. Thus pressed on all hands, and having no longer the fear of rebellion before their eyes, the government at length gave way, and took the final step which was, for the first time in history, to convert an Oriental State into one framed on the political model of the West. On October 12, 1881, the Emperor published an edict, the essential clauses of which run as follows: "We have long contemplated the gradual establishment of a constitutional form of government....It was with this object in view that in the eighth year of Meiji we instituted the Senate, and in the eleventh year authorised the formation of local assemblies....We therefore hereby declare that, in the twenty-third year of Meiji (1890) we shall establish a Parliament, in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced; and we charge our faithful subjects bearing our commissions to make, in the meantime, all necessary preparations to that end."

The nation, thus assured of the future, waited patiently for the realisation of its hopes. A period of comparative political repose succeeded one of storm and stress which had lasted for nearly twenty years. But progress was steadily maintained. The local assemblies continued to meet, and gave valuable assistance to the government in regard to provincial organisation, and the difficult work of local preparation for the introduction of a parliamentary system. Their powers were finally determined by a Local Government ordinance promulgated in 1888. In 1884 the aristocracy was reorganised on a Western basis. Henceforward honours were to derive solely from the sovereign. Titles of nobility were created—Princes, Marquises, Counts, Viscounts, and Barons; and a brand-new peerage,

composed partly of the old feudal or court nobles, partly of distinguished officials of humbler origin, sprang into existence.

In 1885 a change of great political importance took place. The Cabinet system was fully introduced, the heads of the various departments of State taking their places as the supreme council of the nation, under the leadership of a Minister-President or Prime Minister. The departments themselves were reorganised; and a system of competitive examinations for appointments in the civil service was substituted for the earlier methods, in which caprice and favouritism prevailed. Count Ito Hirobumi, the chief promoter of these reforms, became the first Minister-President. Three years later a Privy Council was created. Its members are chosen from old and distinguished officials, and its special function is to advise the sovereign whenever he consults it. Its importance may be gauged from the fact that, on its creation, Count Ito resigned his post as Minister-President to Count Kuroda, himself becoming President of the Privy Council. The relation of this body to the Cabinet does not seem very clear; but the difficulties which might have been expected to arise have not, so far, made themselves felt.

The most important work of this period, however, consisted in the revision and codification of law, the establishment of a judicial system, and the elaboration of a written constitution. The old Japanese law, both civil and criminal, was, like most things in Japan, based upon the Chinese, but had been modified, to the detriment of the lower orders, the peasantry and the commercial and industrial classes, by the feudal system. There was no separation between justice and administration. No distinction was drawn between civil and criminal law. The lower classes had practically no rights, but were at the mercy of their superiors. The procedure was capricious and irregular; the very law-books were secret, known only to the judges. Torture was freely applied, and punishments were very severe. For this tyrannous system—if system it could be called—was

substituted, within the space of about twenty years, a series of codes, an entirely new procedure, and equality before the law.

The reform of the criminal law had been begun by the Legislative Department created in 1868, and was continued by the Ministry of Justice, on its establishment in 1876. In the codification of the criminal law the services of a distinguished French jurist, M. Boissonade, who had been summoned to Japan in 1873, were especially noteworthy; other Europeans also aided in the work. Students were sent to Europe and America to complete their studies, and subsequently took part in the reforms. The labours of the ministry and its foreign and native assistants culminated in the production of a code of criminal law and criminal procedure in 1878. The procedure was modified in 1880 and 1882, and completely remodelled eight years later. The law was revised in 1880, the new code coming into operation in 1882; but the work of revision was carried on, in the light of advanced knowledge and further experience, during the next decade; and considerable changes continued to be made. A radical revision of the code was laid before Parliament so late as 1901. Japanese criminal law is founded mainly on the French: the principles of Roman law consequently prevail. Trials are inquisitorial; but punishments and procedure have been humanised in accordance with Christian ideas. Death by hanging has taken the place of the hideous penalties inflicted under the old law; and torture is abolished. Justice and administration are completely separated.

Civil law was taken in hand along with criminal. The process of bringing it into accordance with European principles and practice was forced upon the Japanese government as an indispensable preliminary to the abolition of the humiliating juridical rights which a series of treaties secured to subjects of the Western Powers. The earlier attempts at reform, made under the influence of M. Boissonade, followed the French model; subsequently German influence prevailed; and, especially in the department of commercial law, the admirable

German code has been closely followed. In 1890 an ordinance reorganised and regulated the various courts of justice; and in the following year a code of civil procedure and a code of commercial law were published. These codes, having been approved by the Diet, came into operation in 1893. No one is admitted to practise at the bar without passing certain examinations. The independence of the judicature is secured by a clause of the constitution; but, except in the highest posts, the smallness of the salaries subjects the probity of the judges to obvious temptations.

While this great work was in progress, the scheme of a Constitution was slowly and laboriously taking shape. Immediately after the issue of the Imperial edict (1881) promising a Parliament, Ito, attended by a staff of qualified assistants, left for Europe, charged with the mission of enquiring into the principles and the practical working of European constitutions. On his return a special bureau was established, for the purpose of sifting the information gleaned, and drafting a Constitution for Japan. The final making of the Constitution was the work of the Privy Council. It would be interesting to know by what steps the Japanese statesmen arrived at their conclusions, what plans were rejected, what arguments were employed; but detailed reports, such as enable us to trace every step in the process by which the Constitution of the United States was framed, unfortunately fail us hitherto in the case of Japan. It must suffice to say that after eight years of deliberation the Constitution was solemnly proclaimed on Feb. 11, 1889.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this instrument is to be found in the safeguards by which the executive is protected from the encroachments of the representative bodies which it has called into existence. The statesmen of Japan, with all the political experience of the Western world to draw upon for their instruction, appear to have been impressed at least as much by the disadvantages and dangers as by the benefits of popular government. Foreseeing that, in order to

maintain national independence and to fulfil what they regard as their mission in the East, unity of control and the unfettered power of employing all the forces of the nation would be indispensable conditions of success, they resolved, while enlisting the sympathies of the people, to secure the Crown against excessive popular interference. The Constitution of Japan, therefore, while drawing largely on such free polities as those of Great Britain and the United States, resembles, in essentials, the German system rather than any other of the Western world. There can be little doubt where Japanese sovereignty resides. Though limited in some noteworthy respects, it resides in the Crown.

It is the Emperor who, with many appeals to "the glorious spirits of the Imperial Founder of our House and of our other Ancestors," and "by virtue of the supreme power inherited" from them, promulgates the "immutable fundamental law" of the Constitution. The person of the Emperor is "sacred and inviolable." He "exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet." He sanctions and promulgates laws. He convokes and prorogues the Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives. When the Diet is not sitting he issues ordinances with the force of law, which, however, are valid only until the next session of the Diet. He appoints and dismisses all officials, civil and military; he "confers titles of nobility and other marks of honour"; he has "supreme command of the army and navy"; he "declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties"; and he may declare a state of siege.

The rights of the subject follow the rights of the sovereign. "No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law." Subject to the payment of legal taxes the rights of property are inviolable. The liberties of speech and publication, of public meeting and association, and of petition, "within the limits of the law," are secured. Similarly, "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order," religion is free.

The Imperial Diet consists of two Houses—a House of Peers, and a House of Representatives. Separate laws regulate the composition of the Houses, the method of election, etc.

The House of Peers consists of five classes, (1) members of the Imperial family; (2) Princes and Marquises; (3) Counts, Viscounts, and Barons, elected as representatives of the several orders, the representatives of each order not exceeding one-fifth of that order; (4) persons nominated, for life, by the Emperor on account of meritorious service to the State, or of erudition; (5) persons elected for seven years by and from the fifteen highest taxpayers in each city and prefecture, and subsequently nominated by the Emperor. The number of members from the two last classes is not to exceed the number of representatives of the hereditary nobility.

Members of the House of Representatives, numbering about 300 in all, were, when the Constitution was first established, elected in every city and prefecture, one or more members from each. An elector must be twenty-five years of age; must have his permanent residence and have actually resided for the year preceding the election in the district for which he votes; and must have paid direct national taxes to the amount of thirty shillings[1] in that year and district. A candidate for election must be thirty years of age; he need not have resided in the district for which he seeks election, but he must have paid thirty shillings in direct national taxes in that district during the previous year. Certain classes of persons, such as officers of the Imperial household, revenue and police officers, clergy and others, are ineligible. Persons actually serving in the army or navy can neither vote nor be elected. The same disability lies on certain classes of criminals, including convicted gamblers, for a specified period after completion of sentence. The heads of noble families cannot vote

[1] In 1900 this amount was lowered to twenty shillings; and the qualifications of candidates, except that of age, were abolished.

or sit in the Lower House; but other nobles, not being members of the House of Peers, enjoy both rights. The general election takes place on one day, normally July 1, throughout the country. Voting is by secret ballot. The term of membership is four years. Members receive a yearly allowance of £80. When the House is dissolved a new House must be convoked within five months.

The Diet, thus constituted, is summoned every year. The session lasts three months, but may be prolonged by the government, which may also convoke extraordinary sessions. Debates are public; but committees of either House—and a large proportion of the work, as in the United States, is done in committee—sit in secret. Members are free from arrest, except in cases of flagrant wrong-doing, and (a noteworthy exception) "of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or foreign trouble." Every law, except modifications of the Imperial House Law, requires the consent of the Diet. Bills may be submitted by the government, or initiated by either House. Both Houses have the right of presenting addresses to the Emperor, and of receiving petitions. "Ministers of State and delegates of the government may at any time sit and speak in either House"; but they do not vote in a House of which they are not members. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of both Houses are nominated by the Emperor: in the Upper House without restriction, in the Lower from among three candidates elected by the House for each office. An elaborate code, promulgated along with the Constitution, regulates the conduct of affairs in the Diet, the relations of the two Houses, etc.

The power of the purse is the lever by which Parliament, in all constitutional countries, has generally sought to bring pressure on the government. To reduce this pressure within narrow limits has been a primary aim of Japanese statecraft. Under the Constitution the imposition of a new tax or the modification of an old one, and the raising of national loans,

are subject to the consent of the Diet, which also controls the national revenue and expenditure by means of an annual budget. The budget is laid first before the House of Representatives; otherwise the Lower House possesses no advantage in this respect over the Upper. So far the power of the purse seems to reside in the Diet. But certain clauses of the Constitution show that this power is strictly limited.

In the first place, the expenditure of the Imperial House, though defrayed out of the Treasury, requires no consent of the Diet, unless an increase is contemplated. Secondly, "Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution on the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law or that appertain to the legal obligations of the government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Diet without consent of the government." Thirdly, "When the Diet cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the government may take all necessary financial measures by means of an Imperial ordinance." Lastly—and this power seems to be borrowed directly from that in the Prussian Constitution so dexterously used by Bismarck in the early sixties—"When the Diet has not voted on the budget, or when the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the government shall carry out the budget of the previous year." It should be borne in mind that these restrictions are not part of the ordinary law, but are inserted in the Constitution; that no ordinary law can override the Constitution; and that no amendment to the Constitution can even be discussed in the Diet save on the initiative of the Crown. Such enactments, when considered along with other Imperial powers, make it abundantly clear that a factious parliamentary majority, however numerous, would have little chance, in the last resort, of forcing its will upon the government.

The Constitution of Japan is evidently what is called a

"rigid" constitution. Though no longer autocratic, it is far removed from a democracy. The storms of party raged violently, within and without the Diet, during the first thirteen years of its existence; but they did not prevent the Government from holding on its course, or impair the firmness of its control; and in recent years the Diet has shown a much higher sense of decorum and responsibility.

The meeting of the first Constitutional Parliament may be said to be the penultimate act of the Revolution which began with the visit of the American squadron thirty-seven years before. We have still to recount the steps by which Japan emancipated itself from the tutelage in which it was placed by its original treaty-relations with foreign Powers. It should never be forgotten that the spirit which animated the reformers at the outset of the Revolution was an anti-foreign one; and, though their violent and outspoken hostility gave way to a wiser and more friendly policy, they never ceased to keep steadily in view, as the ultimate and dominant aim of their efforts, the liberation of their country from foreign control.

The situation in which Japan was placed by the treaties with foreign Powers executed in the time of her weakness, in the fifties and sixties of the last century, was not only humiliating but highly inconvenient. To begin with, at a date when money was badly wanted, Japan was precluded from raising more than an inconsiderable revenue from her growing industry and commerce. The Convention of 1866 fixed the duties leviable on imports and exports, so far as the Treaty Powers were concerned, at a maximum of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. All the treaties included a "most-favoured-nation" clause; consequently it was impossible to buy off, by special concessions, the opposition of any single Power, or to make a breach in the compact array of obligations under which the country lay. Each Treaty State—and there were some fifteen in all—had its own consular jurisdiction, its distinct system of law, civil and criminal. Diversity of language added to the difficulties

experienced by Japanese subjects who had dealings with the consular courts. The legal education of the consuls was in many cases defective; and appeals were practically impossible, for, except in the case of British subjects, the courts of appeal lay at the other side of the world—in San Francisco, for instance, or in Leipzig. Not only did civil and criminal cases, in which Europeans were defendants or accused, come before the consular courts, but even matters of police and domestic order. If; for instance, regulations were issued for the exclusion of cholera infection, they could not be enforced against the majority of Europeans. It may easily be imagined that it required all the patience and self-restraint which a high-spirited and naturally exclusive people could command to put up with such an abridgement of national sovereignty.

The Japanese government made repeated and persistent efforts to free the country from these intolerable obligations, but for a long time they strove in vain. A term for the revision of the treaties had been fixed; and the end of this term coincided roughly with the abolition of feudalism. A prime object of the Iwakura embassy (1871) was the revision of the treaties; but from this point of view the embassy completely failed. "First amend your laws," was the answer generally received. The laws were amended and codified, and that too, as we have seen, on European principles[1]; but the treaties were not revised. It is to the credit of the United States that the first advance in this direction was made by that Power. In July, 1878, a treaty was signed at Washington which, while leaving the question of jurisdiction where it was, made important concessions to Japan, especially in regard to the coasting-trade and the right of determining import and export dues. But these concessions were rendered worthless by the stipulation that the treaty should not come into force until Japan had effected a similar revision with all the other Treaty Powers.

[1] This work was, however, still in process in 1890 (see p. 199).

In 1882 a conference of representatives of all the Treaty Powers met in Tōkiō, to consider the question of revision. Japan was represented by one of her foremost statesmen, Inouye Kaoru, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had fully grasped the necessity of breaking, once for all, with the old jealous and exclusive policy towards other States. He laid before the conference a proposal to throw the whole Empire open to foreign trade, an advantage to be met by the abolition of the consular jurisdictions. It was suggested that the treaties based on these proposals should be valid for twelve years, but that after eight years the tariffs and trade regulations should be subject to revision. This suggestion was unfavourably received by the British delegate, Sir Harry Parkes, while on the Japanese side strong opposition manifested itself to the opening of the whole country to foreign trade. Difficulties also arose in connexion with the length of the transitional period, and a proposal for the appointment of a certain number of foreign judges by Japan. In the end, after sitting for six months, the conference broke up without coming to an understanding.

A second conference met in May, 1886. Count Inouye (as he had now become) again represented Japan. The British and German delegates joined in a proposal to surrender the consular jurisdictions at once, without any transitional period. But difficulties of detail again arose, and certain safeguards were demanded which seemed to the Japanese government to encroach upon the judicial independence of the State. Popular opposition to any such concessions ran high; and eventually, in July, 1887, Count Inouye closed the conference, after it had sat for upwards of a year.

These repeated disappointments came near wearing out the patience of the Japanese people. The enthusiasm for foreign manners and institutions, which had risen to an almost absurd climax about 1885–6, now declined. A bitterness of feeling showed itself, which led to several attacks on foreigners, the

attempt to assassinate Count Okuma (who had succeeded Count Inouye at the Foreign Office) on account of his foreign proclivities, and the attack on the Czarewitch in 1891. Nevertheless, the government continued its patient efforts in the cause of treaty-reform. In 1889 a treaty with Germany was signed at Berlin, which, while conceding the main demands on either side, involved the appointment of foreign jurists as judges in the Japanese Court of Cassation. This provision caused the Japanese government to refuse ratification. Similar treaties with Russia and the United States broke down over the same obstacle.

At length, when the completion of the legal codes and the establishment of the Constitution had removed all reasonable grounds for anxiety as to the treatment of foreigners in Japan, the confidence of the foreign Powers was won, and the persistent efforts of the Japanese government were crowned with success. It is pleasant to reflect that Great Britain was the first Power to give full effect to the recognition of Japan. In July, 1894, a treaty was signed in London by Lord Kimberley and Viscount Aoki, which, in consideration of the opening of Japan to British trade, put an end to the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed by British settlements in Japan, abolished the consular jurisdictions, and the other immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that country, and handed over the jurisdiction to the native courts. The example of Great Britain was followed first by the United States, and then by the other Treaty Powers.

The new treaties came into force in 1899. In the interval, the Chinese war had been fought and won. On June 30, 1899, the Emperor issued a proclamation in which the following passages occur. After stating that, "Thanks to the traditions we have inherited and to the virtues of our ancestors, it has been granted to us to obtain full recognition of our sovereign rights," the Emperor continues, "In regard to the revision of the treaties, our long-nourished wishes have at

length, by means of a satisfactory agreement with the Treaty Powers, attained their end. Considering that the revised treaties are now about to come into force, we may regard this moment with joy and hearty satisfaction; and, while on the one hand we recognise the responsibilities which the altered state of things imposes on the Empire, on the other we hope that the new conditions will contribute to build up our friendly relations with the Powers on a basis yet firmer than before. We expect, therefore, from our loyal subjects, ever ready as they are to discharge their public duties, that, in accordance with our wishes and the enlightened principles of our national policy, they will without exception receive in a kindly spirit the strangers who come to us from distant lands, and will thus strive to raise the national reputation and maintain the dignity of the Empire."

The spirit which inspires these words worthily marks the coming of age of a great people. Less than half a century had gone by since Japan, holding fast to her ancient ways, undisturbed through long ages by extraneous influences, lay, a slumbering and secluded group of islands in the Pacific, remote from all the stir of the Western world. In 1853 there was nothing to show that the "Drang nach Osten" of the European Powers would not reduce her, as it has gone near to reducing China, to a pitiable condition of dismemberment and vassalage; and the more easily by reason of her insular position and the comparatively small numbers of her people. But Japan bestirred herself in time. She was safely guided by a wise monarch, and by statesmen of unsurpassed insight and discretion, through all the perils of domestic revolution, and through a crisis in her foreign relations—that of 1895—as formidable as any that ever beset a young and untried people. Transformed within and without, retaining her ancient fervid patriotism but armed with all the panoply of modern science, she took her place as a great Power, only five years ago, in the comity of nations.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MURDER OF MARGARY.

We have thought it best to carry on the history of the Japanese Revolution continuously to its completion, and in so doing we have been obliged somewhat to anticipate events elsewhere. We must now return to China. Critical as had been the position of foreign affairs during the dispute with Japan, that difficulty was speedily lost sight of on the occurrence of a far more important event in western China. For some years public attention, both in England and in India, had been directed to the desirability of opening up a trade route from Burma into the Chinese province of Yunnan; and in 1874 the Indian government applied for Chinese passports for an exploring expedition which was to start from Bhamo in Upper Burma. These were granted by the Tsungli Yamên at the request of Sir T. Wade; and Colonel Horace Browne with a small staff, 15 Sikhs and 150 Burmese soldiers, assembled at Bhamo to make preparations for the journey. As it was thought advisable that a British consular officer, acquainted with the Chinese language and etiquette, should join the expedition, Mr R. A. Margary was appointed to pass through Western China to meet Col. Browne and to escort him through the Chinese territory. Without delay Mr Margary started on his difficult journey, and having met with every courtesy and

consideration from the Chinese authorities *en route* he reached Bhamo on the 26th of January, 1875.

After some little delay, due to making the necessary arrangements, the expedition started eastwards. But it soon became evident that a change had come over the attitude of the Chinese since Margary had passed through on his way to Bhamo. Persistent rumours were afloat that a large Chinese force, under the command of a certain Li Hsieh-t'ai (i.e. Colonel Li), who, having had a chequered career as a brigand and a rebel, had blossomed out into an Imperialist officer, was preparing to oppose the expedition. Margary, having met this man and having received civility at his hands, was incredulous of the assertion and volunteered to go in advance of the expedition to enquire into the truth of the matter. On the 19th February he started on what proved to be his fatal mission. He reached Têng-yueh, the first town within the Chinese frontier, and thence wrote to Col. Browne to say that all was quiet and that there were no signs of any opposition. From Têng-yueh he went on to Manwein, where it is believed—for no direct evidence was obtainable—that he was received with civility. From native evidence it would appear that on the day after his arrival he was invited to inspect some hot springs in the neighbourhood, and that while doing so he was brutally murdered, if not by Imperial soldiers, at least by men instigated by those in authority. Meanwhile rumours reached Colonel Browne that this crime had been committed and that Chinese troops were advancing to attack the expedition. Scarcely had this report reached him when a large Chinese force appeared on the tops of the neighbouring hills. In these circumstances all that could be done was to secure, so far as possible, the safety of the expedition. The Burmese soldiers were not very effective, but the small company of Sikhs behaved admirably and held the Chinese in check. By the exertions of these men Colonel Browne was able to make good his retreat to Bhamo.

The news of the murder did not reach Sir T. Wade at Peking until March 4, when it was communicated by a telegram from the Foreign Office. There was no difficulty in recognising the importance of the event. Mr Margary was a government official and was travelling under a passport especially provided for him by the Tsungli Yamên. The government had, therefore, the full responsibility for the crime resting on its shoulders, and in the character of a civilised Power it was bound to give every reparation possible for the lapse of authority of which it had plainly been guilty. There can be no doubt that the news had reached the Tsungli Yamên before it was communicated to the British Legation, yet no intimation was given of the murder; and, when Sir T. Wade demanded immediate reparation, he was met by obstinate delays and assumed indifference on the part of Prince Kung and his colleagues. As a preliminary measure Wade insisted that a mixed commission should be sent to the scene of the crime to investigate on the spot the circumstances connected with it. After numerous and provoking delays Li Hanchang, the brother of Li Hungchang, and Viceroy of Hukwang, was appointed Chinese commissioner, but did not condescend to leave Hankow for Yunnan until August. At Manwein Li was met by Mr Grosvenor, a Secretary of the British Legation, and Messrs Baber and Davenport of the British Consular Service, who had been appointed to take part in the investigation. But from the first it was obvious that the object of Li was to screen the real culprits—the local officials and gentry—and to attempt to offer up for punishment as many men of the half-savage border tribes as would satisfy the "outer barbarian." Wade was not a man to be so duped, and he gave it distinctly to be understood that he would not accept as propitiatory sacrifices the poor wretches whom Li was ever ready to send to the execution ground. The commission returned, therefore, without having made any substantial advance in the matter. The only act of reparation

enforced was the temporary suspension from office of the Viceroy of the province.

In face of this local failure Wade renewed his endeavours at Peking to induce the Tsungli Yamên to pursue an honest and straightforward course in the matter. Not succeeding in this he left Peking for Shanghai. Prince Kung now saw that he had gone too far, and he despatched Sir Robert Hart in pursuit of the British Minister with orders to induce him to return. This Wade refused to do, but agreed to meet a regularly-accredited Minister at Chefoo to negotiate on the subject in dispute. In answer to this proposal Li Hungchang was appointed, and there being on both sides a desire to bring the incident to a close, matters were arranged and a convention was signed and sealed without delay. By this document the provincial viceroys and governors were especially enjoined to protect all foreigners travelling within their jurisdictions with passports; and it was further agreed that a mandarin of rank and standing should be sent to England to apologise for the crime. A certain official named Kwo Sungtao was chosen for the unenviable post, and a better choice could not have been made. He executed his special mission with tact and dignity, and remained at St James's for some years as resident Ambassador, during which time he earned the good-will and regard of all those who were brought in contact with him.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that during all these negotiations the people of China were more interested in the events occurring at Peking than in those which were threatening a foreign war. It had been known for some time that there was a great deal of friction within the walls of the Imperial palace. The Emperor was headstrong, and resented any interference with his will on the part of Prince Kung or the Dowager-Empress. The sudden dismissal of Prince Kung, which has been already mentioned, was due to an outbreak of Imperial anger at official checks to his ungoverned

vagaries; and his restoration to power the next day was the answer of the Dowager-Empress to T'ungchih's outbreak. It has always been dangerous to thwart the will of the Dowager-Empress Tz'u-hsi, and before long rumours were current throughout the capital that the Emperor's health was failing. Later it was officially announced that he was suffering from small-pox; and, so soon as the popular mind had been trained to the idea of danger, the statement was made that he had become a guest on high (Jan. 13, 1875).

The position was complicated by the fact that at the time of T'ungchih's death the Empress A-lu-té was *enceinte*; and the Empresses had, therefore, either to wait the arrival of the posthumous child on the chance of its being a boy, or to disregard the contingency and nominate an heir at once. They chose the latter course, and selected the infant son of Prince Ch'un to succeed to the throne. According to custom a felicitous title was adopted for his reign; and the little Prince Tsai-t'ien became known in history as Kwang-hsü, or Succession of Glory. This choice was not made unopposed; and so deeply resented was the innovation, by which the heir to the throne was sought for in the descent from the penultimate rather than from the last Emperor, that the Censor Wu protested vehemently against it, sealing his memorial with his life's blood, which he shed with his own hands. The continued existence of the Empress A-lu-té was, however, a more real difficulty than the ceremonial objections of censors; and the position was simplified by the sudden death of the hapless lady in March, 1875, before the birth of her child.

The new reign began ominously. Margary's murder followed a few days after the decease of T'ungchih; and, as we have seen, the Empire was brought by it to the verge of a foreign war. At this period a wave of anti-foreign feeling swept over the Empire, and showed itself by many infallible signs. Not only were missionaries and solitary travellers assaulted, but instances of piracy occurred which testified to the hostile atti-

tude of the people. A German ship, the *Anna*, on the voyage between Amoy and Tientsin, was pillaged by the Chinese crew, who murdered the Europeans on board and scuttled the ship. This outrage excited much anger in Germany, and four men-of-war were hastily despatched to Amoy to demand reparation. After much correspondence the sum of 38,000 dollars was awarded as recompense for the loss of life and the destruction of the ship; and the incident was declared to be closed. An outrage of another kind was, about the same time, committed in the case of an English vessel, the *Carisbrooke*, which when on the voyage between Singapore and Hongkong was preparing to land passengers on the island of Hainan. While so engaged she was seized by a Chinese gunboat, the commander of which ordered the captain of the *Carisbrooke* to accompany him to Canton on the ground that he was acting contrary to law in trafficking at a port not open to trade. On approaching Hongkong the captain of the *Carisbrooke* attempted to escape into that harbour, but was brought up by a round-shot from the gunboat, and was obliged to continue the voyage. A court appointed to try the case at Canton being unable to agree, the matter was referred to the less heated atmosphere at Peking, where it was arranged that a sum of 5000 taels should be paid as an *amende* to the owners of the *Carisbrooke* for the unjust seizure, and that the port at which the captain had tried to land his passengers should be opened to trade.

At Peking, and in the neighbourhood, repeated attacks were made on foreigners, officials and others; while in the provinces still more serious outrages, some ending fatally, were committed. It might be argued that these assaults were the acts of individuals and had no political importance. But this view cannot be held in cases where the authorities, as in the case of Margary, did all in their power to protect the murderers from the just consequences of their deeds. The murder of the Abbé Huc, at Ch'ienchiang in Szech'uan, is also

a case in point. In this instance, M. de Boquette, a Secretary of Legation, was sent to make investigations on the spot. At Chungk'ing he opened negotiations with the officials, and after vainly attempting to get justice done was obliged to proceed to Ch'êngtu, the capital of the province, to interview the Viceroy. From this city he wrote to M. de Rochechouart, the French Minister at Peking, in these words:—"It is necessary that you should know that to the prayers and protestations of friendship have succeeded recriminations and threats. Three placards, the last extremely perfidious and violent, calling openly on the people to exterminate the foreigners and the Christians, have been posted up throughout the city." In face of the disposition thus evinced it is not to be wondered at that the negotiations made but slow progress. After much difficulty, however, a convention was signed, by the terms of which the Prefect was cashiered; two junior officials, though declared worthy of death, were, at the request of the Roman Catholic bishop, sent into banishment; two of the actual murderers were executed; and a sum of 400,000 francs was paid as compensation for the material losses.

At Ningkwo Fu, in Anhui, a somewhat similar outbreak occurred. The mission premises were destroyed, and a native priest with his catechist was murdered. Here the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory arrangement were aggravated by the fact that Li Hungchang wrote to the Viceroy of the province assuring him that France was now "only a second-rate Power, that the affair might be treated lightly, and that no one had anything to fear." The natural results followed. The local authorities treated the French claims with indifference; and it was only after repeated appeals that they paid compensation for the losses sustained and issued proclamations which teemed with expressions of friendliness, and with promises for the future, all of which were in direct opposition to their real feelings and intentions.

But the air was full of insinuations against the missionaries

and against foreigners in general. Nothing was too absurd of which to accuse them; and in 1876 the province of Kiang-su was agitated from end to end by rumours that foreigners, by the use of magical powers, had let loose "Paper men" among the population, whose *raison d'être* was to cut off the queues of unsuspecting Chinamen, who by this act were not only deprived of a cherished appendage, but were threatened with a speedy death. Ridiculous as the rumours were, they were affirmed by mischief-makers, and believed in by the people, who were by these means stirred up in several districts to commit outrages on foreigners.

At this period the country was going backward in every respect. Famine was ravaging many of the most fertile districts in the Empire; trade was languishing; and the attitude of the officials towards foreigners and everything foreign was becoming more and more hostile. It was hoped that the difficulty of transporting grain to the famine districts would have inclined the mandarins to permit the introduction of railways; and, in order to give them an object-lesson on the subject, it was suggested that a short railway should be made to connect Shanghai with the port of Wusung. Leave having been obtained from the Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces for the construction of the line, a small company was formed, and in due course the railway was opened to traffic. The people were delighted with the new toy, and crowded the stations and trains. This corruption of the public mind was regarded as so dangerous to the mandarinic authority that the officials at once began to raise objections to the continuance of the traffic. The matter was referred to Peking; and the result was that the traffic was suspended, and that eventually the Chinese made themselves masters of the line by purchase. This was the death-knell of the undertaking. From the moment when the Chinese became owners trains ceased to run; and at last the Viceroy agreed that the rolling-stock should be moved to the island of Formosa, where it was allowed to rust and rot.

In China there are always two sides to the general picture of foreign relations. The mandarins are often willing to give us with one hand concessions which cost them nothing, while with the other they deal out hostile attacks. Thus, while the people were being stirred up against us by every conceivable wile, the government consented, in 1876, to open the ports of Pakhoi and Wênchow on the coast, and Ich'ang and Wuhu on the Yangtsze, to foreign trade. These ports were chosen after careful consideration, and they have fully answered the expectations formed concerning them. Ich'ang is the port of transhipment of goods destined to be carried over the 400 miles of rapids which separate that city from Chungk'ing in the province of Szech'uan. A British consular office had already been established at Chungk'ing, and thus a beginning was made in our trade with Western China which should in time develope into one of the most important branches of our Eastern commerce. During the same year (1876) Captain Gill made an adventurous journey through the hitherto unknown parts of Szech'uan, and then turning south, followed Margary's route to Bhamo, in Burma. The result of this traveller's journey was to show that behind the wall of mountains and rapids which separate eastern and western China there lies a territory of great wealth, both in minerals and agricultural crops.

The year 1877 began with a further profession of friendliness. Up to that time it had been customary on New Year's Day for Prince Kung and the members of the Tsungli Yamên to call on the foreign representatives. But on this occasion, for the first time, twenty-six grand dignitaries of state accompanied the Prince and his colleagues. For three days the Legations were *en fête*; and the good wishes expressed on both sides were such as might have been expected to inaugurate a millennium. It is possible that the friendly and voluntary aid given by foreigners to the sufferers from the famine which was at the time desolating whole provinces of the Empire may

have inspired the Court to give this expression to its gratitude by sending the Ministers of State to the several Legations. For years the crops in the provinces of Honan and Shansi—provinces covered with the *loess* formation—had been deficient owing to insufficient rain; but in 1876 famine became acute, and the wretched people, who had kept themselves alive till that time by devouring leaves, grass and the bark of trees, died in masses. It is authoritatively stated that nine millions perished; and all that the Peking authorities did at first was to publish a decree ordering certain princes of the blood to offer up prayers for rain at the Temple of Heaven. At last, instigated to exertion by the example of foreigners, they despatched supplies of rice and grain to the perishing population. But so bad were the means of communication and so corrupt the officials employed that only a small portion of the food provided reached the sufferers. A surer source of supply was that furnished by the European missionaries, who devoted their energies, and in some instances sacrificed their lives, in their endeavours to save the starving people. At Shanghai and elsewhere in China, as well as in London, subscriptions were raised in the cause of the charity; and a total sum of 36,000 taels was contributed by the foreign well-wishers of China. In acknowledgement of this donation and of the private action of the missionaries and others, Prince Kung and his colleagues addressed a letter of thanks to the foreign representatives, which so far as expressions of gratitude went left nothing to be desired.

In European countries emigration furnishes a relief in the presence of such disasters, but in an Empire untraversed by railways and with bad means of communication escape from starving districts is slow and difficult. Besides this, the dangers of introducing a system of emigration in a country such as China had proved to be so great that it had been necessary, as has been said, to put a temporary stop to it altogether. The difficulty of supplying labour in Cuba, however, was, at this time, so pressing that the Spanish govern-

ment, taking advantage of the famine to give weight to its arguments, empowered Don Carlos de España, the Spanish Minister at Peking, to propose to the Emperor's advisers a convention under which Chinese coolies might be enlisted for work in the Spanish colonies. After some discussion an agreement was arrived at under which it was competent for Spaniards to import Chinese coolies into Cuba and elsewhere under more stringent and equitable regulations than those which had formerly existed.

The good relations which had lately existed between the Courts of St James and Peking had been greatly due to the tact and urbanity of Kwo Sungtao, the Chinese Minister at our Court; and it was, therefore, with sincere regret that in February, 1878, a decree appeared recalling Kwo and appointing Tsêng Chitsê, the eldest son of the great statesman and general Tsêng Kwofan, in his place. Kwo, when he went to England, was accompanied by a second Minister named Liu, who was to serve as a check on the more liberal sentiments of his colleague. It was due to the reports of this man that the recall came; and it was believed that the part which Madame Kwo took in entertaining at the Legation led to her husband's disgrace. But, supposing that event to have been inevitable, no better choice could possibly have been made than that of Tsêng. His rank was high, for he was a *Hou*, or Marquis; he was a good scholar from a Chinese standpoint; he was liberal in his views and courtly in manner. His reception in London was friendly, and he fully maintained the cordial relations between the two governments which had been established by his predecessor. It was not long after this event that Liu, the man who had been the means of Kwo's disgrace and who had been appointed Minister at Berlin, was recalled to Peking, and Li Fêngpao was nominated in his place. Li was a *protégé* of Li Hungchang, and, though he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with Western knowledge, his scholarship was faulty and he was essentially one of the people. The result of his appointment

at Berlin was such as might have been expected from his character. He mixed himself up in several questionable proceedings in that city, and was withdrawn by a decree which could scarcely have been more condemnatory. He was described by his Imperial master as "vile and corrupt" and was deprived of all his honours.

Meanwhile the recent danger of a war with Japan due to the murder of Japanese subjects by the natives of Formosa (see p. 143), from which China had narrowly escaped, and a threatening attitude on the part of Russia, had forced on the attention of the more liberal-minded officials the necessity of putting the army of the Empire on a more satisfactory footing. Li Hungchang was one of the first to recognise the wisdom of such a step; and he promptly engaged the services of M. von Hanneken, a German officer, to prepare a plan for the reorganisation of the Chinese army, while at the same time he secured the services of a French naval officer to command the northern fleet and of another to establish a naval school for Chinese boys. He also gave the command of two ironclads recently brought from England to two British officers. But Gordon is the only foreigner who has succeeded in working with Chinese mandarins. Their innate ignorance and jealousy make them suspicious of foreign colleagues; and, though Li Hungchang had had experience of the T'aip'ing rebellion, he was still unable to overcome his inability to work smoothly with Europeans. Thus one by one his foreign employés left him; the army became disorganised; his fleet was practically left to decay; and, when the day of trial came, on the declaration of war with Japan, he found his armaments and fleets melt away before the bravery and preparedness of the Japanese.

The position which united Germany had gained in Europe after the Franco-German War was reflected in China when M. von Brandt was instructed to take a strong and firm stand in certain matters in dispute between the two governments. The collection of *Likin*, the jurisdiction of the mixed courts,

and the system of drawbacks, were the chief of a long list of grievances which the German representative brought before the notice of the Tsungli Yamên. At first Prince Kung and his colleagues were inclined to treat these complaints lightly; and M. von Brandt found it necessary to present an ultimatum in which he gave the Tsungli Yamên forty-eight hours to yield to his demands, and announced his intention of leaving Peking at the end of that time if his terms were not complied with. In the meantime he paid a visit to the Yamên; and his experience at this interview was so typical that it is worth mentioning. The position was one which might result in war, and yet for twenty minutes he was entertained with remarks on the weather and the possibility of rain. When the serious matter in hand was at last broached, the members of the Yamên, while yielding some of von Brandt's demands, demurred to others. Matters being in this unsatisfactory state von Brandt rose to take leave, and in doing so made a direct allusion to his departure from Peking if his terms were not complied with by the time named in his ultimatum. Upon this the mandarins expressed great surprise and concern, and begged him to renew the conference, when they had no doubt that they would be able to arrange matters to his satisfaction. This result was happily attained, and a revised treaty was subsequently drawn up which included the articles upon which von Brandt had insisted.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KULDJA DIFFICULTY.—THE FRENCH IN ANNAM.

At this time (1876) a general peace, broken only by the local disturbances which are chronic in the Empire, may be said to have prevailed throughout the provinces of China proper. The T'aip'ing rebellion had been suppressed, and the Nienfei outbreak as well as the Muhammadan rising in Yunnan had been put down in the usual Chinese manner. The Margary question had been set at rest, and the threatened war with Japan had been averted.

But while this was the condition of the home provinces, the dependencies outside the Great Wall were and had been for many years in a state of rebellion against Chinese rule. Kashgaria had to all intents and purposes ceased to be Chinese. In Central Asia Yakub Beg appeared to be establishing an empire, while in northern Central Asia the Tungani were holding their own against all the forces which the mandarins could bring against them. So far back as 1871, the constant disturbances occasioned on the Russian and Kuldja frontier by the action of the Tungani had induced the Russians to interfere in the interests of peace on their borders. With the consent of China the Tsar's troops occupied the province of Kuldja, or Ili, and were still in possession of this territory when in 1876 the Chinese, finding their hands free, seriously

undertook the reconquest of the rebellious provinces. In rapid succession the important cities of Barkul, Hami, Urumtsi, and Manas fell again into their hands; and before long the State of Kashgaria, over which Yakub Beg had ruled with wisdom and justice, was finally recovered.

The conclusion of this eminently successful campaign brought the question of Kuldja into prominence; and the Chinese at once took steps to repossess themselves of the severed province. During the negotiations which had led up to its occupation by the Muscovites, the Russians had shown themselves eminently friendly, and freely admitted that their hold of the country would naturally cease so soon as the Chinese were in a position to occupy it effectually. This time had now arrived, and it was plainly by negotiations and not by force of arms that the matter should be arranged. After some discussion it was determined that the Chinese government should send a special envoy to St Petersburg, there to conclude the necessary convention for the arrangement of terms. For this office Chunghow, who had been sent to France to apologise for the Tientsin massacre, was chosen. This selection was not a good one. Chunghow was an able man, but he lacked the necessary firmness and resource to contest successfully difficult points with the trained diplomatists on the shores of the Neva. After having been received at an Imperial audience, and having been instructed as to the points he was to insist upon, he took his departure and arrived in St Petersburg in the early part of 1879. After protracted negotiations, unduly drawn out by the fact of the Russian Court being in Livadia, a convention was drawn up by which Russia surrendered the Kuldja valley, but retained that of the Tekes, which left in her hands the command of the passes through the Tienshan range into Kashgar. By this document it was also arranged that China should pay an indemnity of five million roubles towards the expenses of the Russian occupation.

So soon as the terms of this treaty became known in China they were generally condemned; and the unfortunate Chunghow added to his crime by returning to Peking without waiting for the necessary edict to sanction his doing so. On arriving at the capital he was at once deprived of all his honours; and his treaty was submitted for report to members of the government appointed for the purpose. These with one voice condemned the arrangement; and the luckless Chunghow was handed over to the Board of Punishments, by whom he was condemned to decapitation after incarceration.

It was impossible that the foreign representatives could remain indifferent to the fate of the fallen plenipotentiary; and strenuous efforts were made to mitigate his lot. Queen Victoria was so shocked at the discrepancy between the fault committed and the proposed punishment that she interceded with the Dowager-Empress, by telegraph, on behalf of the fallen statesman. These efforts were successful, and Chunghow was eventually allowed to retire into private life. He died in 1893.

The negotiations having thus been rudely broken off, it remained for the Chinese to appoint another envoy to gather up the threads of the discussion; and this time the choice fell upon the Marquis Tsêng, who, as has been said, had been lately appointed Minister at the Court of St James. No better choice could have been made. By a mixture of firmness and tact the Marquis carried the points laid down by his government, and recovered almost in its entirety the province of Ili. In exchange for this more complete restoration, which excepted only a small portion of the western part of the province, the Marquis agreed to pay an indemnity of nine million roubles. This treaty was welcomed at Peking; and once again China came into possession of her own. As is usual, however, in the agreements contracted by these two governments, certain trading regulations were added to the convention, which con-

ferred many and great advantages on Russian merchants engaged in the overland trade with China.

While these negotiations had been going on for the recovery of Kuldja, a cloud had arisen in the south which was destined to precipitate a war. For more than a century France had been trying to create for herself a dependency in Eastern Asia, which should be a counterweight to British India. In 1787 Louis XVI made a treaty with Gialong, the rightful King of Cochin-China, by which France undertook to restore Gialong to the throne from which he had been violently driven, in exchange for a number of political and commercial privileges. The pledge was fulfilled; and Gialong not only recovered his lawful territory, but added Tonquin to it by conquest. During the French Revolution and the following decades the scheme of an Eastern Empire, favoured by Louis XVI, was allowed to lapse; and it was not until the reign of Napoleon III that it again formed part of the political programme of France. A treaty, signed at Saigon in 1862, conveyed the southern provinces of Bien-Hoa, Gia-Dinh and Dinh-Tuong with the island of Condor to the French flag. From this time activity prevailed in the new colony. Garnier surveyed the Mekong; Dupuis sailed over the waters of the Red River and the Yangtsze-kiang; and on all sides explorers pushed their way with the evident intention of enlarging their borders. Twelve years later (1874) a treaty with the King of Annam was concluded at Saigon, by which the King recognised the sovereignty of France over all the territories occupied by her. It is needless to say that this description far exceeded the three provinces of which she had already become possessed. This treaty was communicated to the Tsungli Yamên by the French Minister at Peking, and Prince Kung at once took exception to it. He pointed out that Annam was a dependency of China, and that therefore the King had no right to make a treaty without the sanction of his suzerain; that the Chinese government had no intention of

opening a treaty-port in Yunnan, as was implied by the treaty; that at the request of the Annamese China had sent troops into Tonquin to suppress disorders; and that she was quite capable of maintaining order without the proffered help of French arms.

In response to this protest of the Chinese, the King of Annam showed a growing inclination to emphasise his dependence on the Court of Peking, and in 1877 he despatched an embassy bearing tribute to his liege lord. The French authorities in Annam endeavoured to prevent the departure of the mission, but in vain; and the true tendency of the politics implied was shown by the fact that the envoys, though invited to visit the French Legation at Peking, carefully avoided entering its portals. Complications of another kind also arose. The British government wished to appoint consuls in Tonquin; and later a Spanish Minister arrived with orders to make a treaty with the King of Annam, and he succeeded in carrying out his task, much to the annoyance of the Quai d'Orsay. This was in 1881.

Throughout the whole course of proceedings China had protested against the action of France in establishing a virtual protectorate over one of her dependencies; and in 1881 the Marquis Tsêng, who was accredited to France as well as to England, made a formal declaration that in the name of his government he repudiated the treaty executed in 1874 between France and Annam. France refused to acknowledge the right of China to interfere in the matter; and the two countries were brought to a pass dangerously near to a declaration of war. If the aggrieved party had been any other country but China war must have followed. But China was not prepared for war; and verbal protests were the only overt measures which she was prepared to adopt. In this dilemma the King of Annam again showed his loyalty by sending another tribute mission to Peking.

But, though unwilling to take the field against the French,

China was quite willing to subsidise the forces of those who were ready to cross swords with the invaders. On the mountain frontier between China and Tonquin there had long existed roving bands of marauders who were always ready to turn their hands against anyone whom it was their interest to worry. Frequently they made expeditions in search of plunder into Tonquin, and defended themselves often successfully against the Imperial troops sent for their chastisement. At this time (1881) the leader of the Black Flags, as they were called from the colour of their banners, was a certain man named Liu, who kept up unrecognised communications with the mandarins on the borders. When news came of the aggressions perpetrated by the French, Liu was quite willing to take up arms against them, more especially when he found that such action would meet with the approval of the Peking cabinet. He at once therefore crossed the border, and began his familiar tactics of attacking isolated posts and cutting off small bodies of men. In general engagements, however, though his followers were provided with modern weapons from the Imperial armouries, they were at first powerless against the French, who without much difficulty made themselves masters of Hanoi, Haiphong, and Sontay. But, as time went on, Liu's troops acquired confidence and better discipline, and in 1882 they succeeded in inflicting two serious reverses on the French. In one of these Captain Henri Rivière, who was in command of a large detachment in the neighbourhood of Hanoi, was attacked and defeated with considerable loss, Captain Rivière himself being among the slain. The other catastrophe occurred at Phukai, from which position the French were compelled to retire. So seriously were these *contretemps* regarded that reinforcements were sent for from France to restore the prestige of the French arms.

It was some considerable time before these reinforcements arrived; and meanwhile the King of Annam, with courage imparted by the events in Tonquin, declared war against the

French. This led to a new campaign in the course of which the capital, Hué, was occupied, and a *protégé* of France was placed on the throne with a French resident at his Court to guide his policy. This new order of things was confirmed by a treaty, the first article of which ran as follows: "L'Annam reconnaît et accepte le protectorat de la France, avec les conséquences de ce mode de rapports au point de vue du droit diplomatique européen, c'est-à-dire que la France présidera aux relations de toutes les Puissances étrangères, y compris la Chine, avec le gouvernement annamite, qui ne pourra communiquer diplomatiquement avec les dites Puissances que par l'intermédiaire de la France seulement."

This article gave the key-note to the treaty by which Annam yielded her independence into the hands of the French. The position was now complicated by the fact that in December, 1882, M. Bourée, the French Minister at Peking, had in concert with the Tsungli Yamên signed a memorandum in which he promised that, on condition that the Chinese troops were withdrawn from Tonquin, France would not pursue any project of conquest or undertake any enterprise against the territorial sovereignty of Annam. This memorandum the French government refused to endorse, and promptly recalled M. Bourée from Peking.

The Chinese were now thoroughly alarmed; and Li Hung-chang, the traditional *deus ex machinâ* in Chinese politics, was appointed commander-in-chief in South China. He, however, got no further south than Shanghai, where he met M. Tricou, M. Bourée's successor, with whom he opened negotiations. But Li was desirous of shifting the responsibility of the negotiations from his shoulders on to those of the Marquis Tsêng in Paris, and in order to urge his views on the government more effectively he suddenly left Shanghai for Tientsin. Meanwhile the Marquis had been actively engaged in attempting to procure the intervention of one of the Western Powers; and in response the government of the United States volunteered to act as

arbitrator in the quarrel. This intervention was rejected by France, and affairs were again allowed to drift—a condition of things which gave France all the opportunity for action that she desired.

On August 20, 1883, M. Tricou announced to Prince Kung that, having been informed that ships were about to sail from China to Tonquin loaded with arms for the Annamese, the French fleet would at once blockade the ports of Tonquin and Annam by virtue of the right given by the Treaty of 1874. Against this action Prince Kung protested; and both he and Li declared most positively that China would never give up her suzerainty over Annam. Events proved that while China was saying she would never consent she had virtually consented, for she transferred the negotiations to Paris, the Peking dignitaries being disinclined to take the responsibility of formulating a policy. But, before quite resigning the conduct of the affair, Prince Kung wrote to the French Minister a final letter which was necessarily accepted as an ultimatum. He recapitulated the history of the relations between China and Annam, affirmed that were France to interfere between the suzerain and his tributary it would be regarded by the whole world as a disgrace, and ended by saying that if France persisted in her present attitude she must take the consequences.

War was now within measurable distance; and in fact the Governor of Kwangsi announced publicly that definite operations would be begun on December 2, on which day he had directed Liu, the chief of the Black Flags, to attempt the recovery of Phukai and Tang-fung. Meanwhile negotiations were going on both in Paris and Peking. M. Ferry took occasion to remind the Marquis Tsêng of an assertion he had made to the effect that there were no Chinese troops in Tonquin; and further to warn him that, this being so, in case the French should encounter a Chinese force and an engagement follow, the fault would rest with the Marquis. Tsêng denied having made such an assertion, as did also the Tsungli

Yamên on his behalf when taxed with it by the French Minister. A determined opposition was growing up at Peking against Tsêng, which ultimately led to his recall. He complained that his reports were not listened to and that no notice was taken of his telegrams, and stated that at this juncture there was a disposition among some of the European Powers to oppose the blockade by France of the ports of Annam. It was one of the anomalies of the situation that, though war was practically declared, Prince Kung called on New Year's Day (1884) on the French Minister and offered his congratulations in a most friendly manner. Throughout the whole course of the negotiations Prince Kung had been an advocate for a peaceful solution of the difficulty; and it was as much to his annoyance as to that of the foreign representatives that the Dowager-Empress appointed Chang Peilun, a violent reactionary, to a seat at the Tsungli Yamên. Happily this man's tenure of office was of short duration, for with impartial ill-feeling he behaved with gross rudeness both to the French and the other Ministers. To such lengths did he go that the United States Minister laid a formal complaint against him to the Yamên. But his appointment had been but a symptom of the policy of the Dowager-Empress, who, finding that Prince Kung was determined, if possible, to avoid war, issued an edict depriving him of his offices and relegating him to the obscurity of private life. Unlike his former disgrace, this was of a more permanent character; and for eleven years the Empire was deprived of Prince Kung's advice and services.

Having thus rid herself of this trusty and wise counsellor, the Dowager-Empress gave rein to her impulses. On the arrival of the news of the capture by the French of the strongholds of Sontay and Bac-ninh, she issued two edicts, in which she cashiered the Governors of Yunnan and Kwangsi, and condemned the unfortunate commandants of those fortresses to death. "This," telegraphed the Russian Minister to his government, "is the official declaration that war exists between France and China."

Matters were in this condition when a strange event occurred. Captain Fournier, commanding a French man-of-war, happening to meet at Canton Mr Detring, a man deep in the counsels of Li Hungchang, was persuaded by that gentleman to go northwards to Tientsin to consult Li on the situation. Li met Captain Fournier with open arms; and the latter, having received by telegram from Paris authorisation to treat with Li, who had been invested with plenipotentiary powers, at once opened negotiations with him. Both parties being desirous of a peaceful solution, little difficulty was experienced in coming to terms; and on May 11, 1884, the "Convention Fournier" was signed and sealed.

By this convention France bound herself to respect and to protect against all aggression by any nation whatever, and in all circumstances, the southern frontiers of China and Tonquin. On the other hand China agreed that, being thus reassured as to the safety of her southern frontier, she would at once withdraw her garrison from Tonquin, and would now, and at all times, respect the treaties concluded between France and the King of Annam.

After the signature of this convention, Captain Fournier had a long conversation with Li Hungchang, in course of which it was laid down that Langson, Cao-bang, That-ke, and all the places in Tonquin abutting on the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi should be evacuated within twenty days from the date of signing the treaty; that Laokai and all the places in Tonquin abutting on the province of Yunnan should be evacuated within forty days; and that, on the expiration of these periods, the French should be at liberty summarily to expel all Chinese garrisons still found in Tonquin.

In agreeing to the terms of this treaty Li Hungchang had vastly exceeded his instructions, which were these: "Not to cede the suzerainty of China over Annam; not to agree to the Black Flags being handed over to France; not to yield if an indemnity is demanded of China; and not to open Yunnan to

foreign commerce." Practically Li had disobeyed the first of these instructions; and it was his cue therefore, and that of the Tsungli Yamên, to treat the convention as being only a proposition. On May 14 the Tsungli Yamên admitted to the French Minister that negotiations had been going on at Tientsin, but added that nothing definite had been arranged. Li, on his part, reported to the throne that China had not been required to cede to France the suzerainty over Annam; that the question of handing over the Black Flags had not arisen; that no indemnity had been claimed; and that foreign traders were not to be allowed to establish themselves in Yunnan.

This travesty of the convention satisfied the Dowager-Empress; but no mention was made to her of the arrangement by which the Chinese garrisons were to vacate their posts to make way for the French. It is also certain that no instructions were sent to the Chinese commandants to enforce the understanding. The natural result followed. In the middle of June, General Millot, commanding in Tonquin, gave orders that Langson, That-ke and Cao-bang should be occupied; and in pursuance of these instructions Colonel Dugenne with 900 men marched in the direction of Langson. On his way, near Bac Lé, he encountered a force of Chinese regular soldiers, whose commandant, in a letter addressed to Colonel Dugenne, stated that he had not received instructions to retire, and that until he did so he was unable to withdraw. An engagement followed in which the French were defeated and had to retreat, leaving two officers and twenty men dead on the field, while five officers and sixty-three men were wounded.

When the news of the disaster reached France, M. Jules Ferry telegraphed at once to the French Chargé d'Affaires, telling him to enter a strong protest against this infringement of the Fournier Treaty. Accordingly M. de Semallé called at the Tsungli Yamên, and was met by positive assertions that the conditions of evacuation maintained by the French formed no

part of the Fournier Convention; and that in fact the French had broken the treaty by attacking the Chinese troops, who were on the ground in obedience to instructions. At this interview the convention was produced, and it had to be confessed that the clause quoted by M. de Semallé was not in the treaty.

The convention was made on the side of France by an amateur in diplomacy, and both in what it contained and in what it omitted it bore the marks of its origin. In the dispute which arose as to its terms, it seems the right was on the side of the Chinese; and they took every advantage of it. Li Hungchang denied that he had agreed to any time being fixed for the evacuation of Langson and other places, and quoted triumphantly the clause which laid it down that "after a delay of three months a definite treaty would be concluded based on the preceding articles" of the convention. He maintained—and in this contention he was supported by the Yamên—that this implied that all matters relating to the evacuation would be definitely arranged in the treaty which was to follow. A long correspondence supervened, and many interviews took place; but the Chinese maintained the position that they were blameless in the matter, and threw all the responsibility of the engagement on the French.

At length the French Minister, M. Patenôtre, presented an ultimatum, in which he demanded, "Que l'article 2 de la Convention du 11 Mai soit immédiatement exécuté, et qu'un décret impérial publié dans la *Gazette de Peking* ordonne aux troupes chinoises d'évacuer le Tong-king sans délai. De plus, il a reçu l'ordre de réclamer comme réparation pour la violation du Traité et comme dédommagement des frais qu'entraînera le maintien du corps expéditionnaire, une indemnité de deux cent cinquante millions au moins, dont le règlement sera définitivement arrêté dans les négociations ultérieures." A week was allowed the Chinese for framing and sending a satisfactory answer to these demands. Failing the receipt of such satis-

faction, the French government would be under the necessity "de s'assurer directement les garanties et les réparations qui lui sont dues."

This document produced an appeal from China to the Treaty Powers. It was confidently asserted by the Tsungli Yamên that no undertaking had been given by China that the Tonquinese towns should be evacuated by certain dates; and they attributed the misunderstanding which had arisen entirely to the action of the French. They professed the genuineness of their desire to make every possible concession to the French, and in evidence thereof they published an Imperial decree, in which the immediate retirement of the Chinese troops from Tonquin was ordered; while at the same time Tsêng, the uncle of the marquis of that name, was appointed plenipotentiary to arrange terms of peace with M. Patenôtre at Shanghai. Meanwhile the Chinese were making arrangements to meet every possible emergency, and among other measures they changed the flag commonly borne by the fleet of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Co. to that of the Stars and Stripes. It was fortunate that this was accomplished, for the French fleet quickly became active, and on the 3rd of August it appeared off Kelung on the northern coast of Formosa. After a short bombardment a landing was effected; but, the force of men at the admiral's disposal proving to be insufficient to hold the port, the men were withdrawn, much to the triumph of the Chinese, who claimed a victory. From Formosa the fleet crossed over to Foochow, where a considerable number of Chinese men-of-war were lying at anchor. Unfortunately the mandarin in command was the notorious Chang Peilun, who combined an unusual amount of assurance with the most arrant cowardice. Though warned of the probable approach of the French fleet, he took no sort of precaution against an attack, and was entertaining friends at a lunch on shore when fire was opened on his ships. In a few minutes the greater part of these were either sunk or disabled, but in spite of this

patent fact Chang Peilun had the effrontery to represent the engagement as having been a great victory to the Imperial arms. For a time his report was credited at the capital; but, on evidence transpiring of the actual state of affairs, Chang was banished to the Mongolian frontier, where he languished for some years, until he was recalled to China and was given the daughter of Li Hungchang in marriage.

While war was thus being carried on between the two countries, it was impossible that M. de Semallé, the French Chargé d'Affaires, could remain any longer at Peking, and he retired, therefore, to Shanghai.

In Annam Admiral Courbet was, at the same time, actively carrying on operations, and on December 16 he took Sontay, an achievement which was followed later by the capture of Bac-ninh and Hung-hwa. These victories inclined the Annamese to terms of peace; and on June 6, 1884, a treaty was signed at Hué, the capital, by which the Annamese agreed to accept the protectorate of France, and to receive a resident at the King's court who should direct the foreign policy of the country, while in Tonquin a number of residents were to be appointed, in whose hands the government of the country was virtually to rest. In return France bound herself to guarantee the integrity of Annam against all comers. By this treaty certain provinces which had been transferred from Tonquin to Lower Cochin-China were restored to Tonquin; and with the destruction of the royal seal, which bore evidence of the suzerainty of China, the French regarded their position in Tonquin as assured.

In China matters were in a much more unsettled condition. A correspondence was still being carried on between the Tsungli Yamên and M. Patenôtre in which the Chinese repeated their case over and over again, and, in reply to the French claim for compensation for the attack on Langson, brought forward a demand for a similar sum for the bombardment of Kelung. Over the Fournier Treaty the verbal battle

still raged; and, long after the dispute had lost all real importance, assertions and contradictions were freely exchanged between the parties to that unfortunate document. The despatch of Chinese troops across the Chinese frontier into Tonquin had a far more practical bearing on the position; and the attitude assumed by some of the provincial magnates, notably the Viceroy of Canton, added a savage fierceness to the situation. Once again rewards were offered for the murder of Frenchmen, who, according to the Viceroy, had violated international law, and had torn up the convention concluded at Tientsin.

While matters were in this state on the mainland, Admiral Courbet received instructions from Paris to renew the attack on Formosa. The object of this order it is difficult to explain. Formosa, being an island, has always received secondary regard from the Chinese government; and an attack upon it, therefore, would have as little effect on the central power as would, to quote Sydney Smith, "tickling the dome of St Paul's have upon the pleasurable feelings of the Dean and Chapter." Both the admiral and the Minister on the spot were of opinion that an attack in the neighbourhood of Peking would be more likely to produce the desired effect upon the Chinese mandarins. But the *fiat*, instigated it was supposed by M. Fournier, who had already proved himself an evil genius, had gone forth and had to be obeyed. Misfortune followed; the force under Admiral Lespé was defeated before Tamsui; and the Chinese were once more enabled to count a success. It was, however, determined to establish a blockade over the island ports; and, having placed his ships in position, Admiral Courbet followed the Chinese fleet to the coast of China with the remainder of his vessels. At the harbour of Sheipoo, near Ningpo, he encountered the enemy, who not waiting to be attacked steamed off to places of safety, one ship only falling into the hands of the French.

Better fortune attended the French arms in Tonquin.

After several engagements, in which the tricolour was always successful, Langson was occupied (Feb. 13, 1885), as was also the important city of Tuyen Quan a few days afterwards. The Pescadores, which have since become Japanese territory, were taken a month or two later, though not without loss. The French had five killed and twelve wounded, while it is said the Chinese lost between 300 and 400 killed.

While these operations were in progress, unceasing attempts were made to arrive at terms of peace. Sir Robert Hart, who has been China's best friend in many emergencies, used his great influence at Peking to induce the authorities to hold out a flag of truce; and he despatched Mr Campbell, his agent in London, to Paris to act as intermediary with the French government. After the fall of Langson, Sir R. Hart was able to telegraph to Mr Campbell that the Emperor had authorised the proposition of a preliminary convention containing the terms: (1) That on the one hand China consents to ratify the Tientsin Convention of May, 1884. and on the other France agrees to demand nothing beyond the stipulations of that convention; (2) that the two Powers agree to cease hostilities so soon as orders can be conveyed to the commanders in the field, and France consents to raise the blockade of Formosa; (3) France agrees to send a plenipotentiary to the north to arrange the terms of a definite treaty, when the two Powers will agree as to the date of the withdrawal of their troops. Both of the disputants being anxious for peace, the proposal was welcomed; and negotiations were entered into between M. Billot and Mr Campbell at Paris.

While matters were thus progressing favourably, an event occurred which threatened to renew the war. Fearing an attack from the Chinese, General Negrier, in command at Langson, led a reconnaissance of cavalry in the neighbourhood of the city, and during an engagement with the enemy received so serious a wound that he was obliged to yield his command to Colonel Herbinger, his second in command.

This officer proved himself quite unfit for the responsibility. With undue haste and contrary to the advice of his wounded chief he determined to evacuate the city, and ordered a retreat which was speedily converted into a rout. By his direction the treasure-chests, containing 585,000 francs, and a battery of four mountain guns were thrown in the river; and the troops made the best of their way to Tank-Moï and Dong-song[1].

This disaster, which led to the fall of M. Jules Ferry, did not however interfere with the negotiations for peace; and a Protocol was signed on April 4, 1885, which was identical with the proposals already put on record by Mr Campbell. In the following June a treaty was signed, in which the protectorate of France was still more definitely acknowledged, and the Chinese bound themselves to do all that in them lay to further the establishment of peace. So far, the honours had been divided; and even in the treaty the Chinese saw evidences of a partial triumph. On presenting that document to the Dowager-Empress, Li Hungchang wrote, "After the great victory of Langson, the success of the Imperial troops inspired fear and terror, while unanimous congratulations resounded throughout the whole world. Seeing that France was sincere in her repentance, China was able at last to lay down her arms. It was due to the inflexible determination of their Imperial Majesties that the perfidious projects of France to extort money from China have been abandoned; and the generosity of China has, in this matter, been demonstrated in a brilliant manner."

It was thus that the Chinese government attempted "to save its face" before the people of the Empire; for, though temporary advantages had rested with the Chinese during the campaign, their yielding the suzerainty of Annam to France was plainly the act of a vanquished Power. But, though willing

[1] *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances occidentales.* Première Partie, p. 523.

to pervert the result of the campaign, they carried out faithfully the terms of the treaty. They evacuated Tonquin within the allotted time; and in return France withdrew from the ports and harbours of Formosa. Though thus complying with the terms of their agreement, the Chinese planned an act of treachery which recalls the seizure of Sir Harry Parkes, Lord Loch, and others at T'ungchow in 1860. On the night of the 5th and 6th of July they laid a plot to seize General Roussel de Courcy at Hué, when he had just taken over command from Brière de l'Isle. Fortunately the plot was discovered; it ended in the flight of the Minister of War, who had been a prime mover in the scheme. This official carried off with him the young King, who had been one of the conspirators; but the royal fugitive was ultimately taken prisoner and ended his days in Algeria.

In pursuance of the diplomatic treaty a commercial counterpart was negotiated between M. Cogordan, who had been sent out from France for the purpose, and Li Hung-chang. At first serious difficulties arose between the plenipotentiaries; and on considering the first draft of M. Cogordan's proposals Li replied, "Almost all the articles are inadmissible by China. I have received," he went on to say, "from the Tsungli Yamên a letter in which twenty out of the twenty-four articles are called in question; and of the remaining four there are two which I for my part cannot accept."

In view of this sweeping condemnation, certain amendments were admitted by the French; and the amended treaty was finally agreed to and signed. But it soon became evident that it was unworkable; and it became necessary to execute another treaty in the following year (1887), to set right the objectionable clauses. By Article II of the later document the Chinese agreed to open to trade the ports of Lungchow, Mêngtzŭ, and Manhao, as well as the trading centres of Yunnan Fu the capital of Yunnan, Kwei-lin the capital of Kwangsi, Hokou (opposite Laokai) and Tunghing (opposite

Mêngkai). But these advantages were given up by the French in response to the prayers of the Chinese, who in their turn virtually withdrew their right of establishing Chinese consuls at Hanoi and Haiphong. But the most important advantage gained by France was the right to navigate the Son-ki-kong and the river of Cao-bang connecting Langson with that city.

The signature of this treaty brought the war to a close,—a war during which the advantage had not been entirely on the side of France. In several engagements in Tonquin they were unquestionably defeated, and they suffered a reverse at Tamsui, in Formosa. At first sight the ease and apparent indifference with which the Emperor ceded his suzerainty over Annam, while at the same time he strained every nerve by military preparation and diplomatic wiles to recover the province of Ili, may appear strange. But Annam, though a vassal, had never been part of the Empire as Ili had been, and had no closer relationship with Peking than had Burma and Siam. It cost the Emperor very little to give up the shadowy rights which he exercised or did not exercise over his southern neighbour, while to have yielded Ili to Russia would have been to pour out some of his life's blood.

CHAPTER XIII.

BURMA, KOREA, AND TIBET.

THOUGH Chinese troops had held their own with credit in several engagements with the French, the more enlightened of Chinese officials, among whom was Li Hungchang, had been brought to recognise that in matters of drill, discipline, and armament their soldiers were distinctly inferior to the troops of their antagonists; and as soon as they became conscious of the fact they set about introducing reforms in both the naval and military branches of the service. They established a Board of Admiralty at Peking, over which Prince Ch'un, the father of the Emperor, was appointed to preside; and they were fortunate enough to secure the service of Captain Lang to command the northern division of the fleet. But neither on this occasion, nor after the Japanese war, were reforms regarded seriously; and Captain Lang soon found that it was impossible for him to work with Chinese officers who had no zeal for anything but for filling their pockets, and whose ideas of discipline were of the vaguest nature. Before long (as will be described more fully on p. 288), he was compelled to resign his post. This proved to be an incalculable misfortune to the Chinese in their war with Japan, when they suffered the loss of the whole of their northern fleet through the incompetency of the commanding officers and the ignorance of the men.

The selection of an Englishman to command the northern fleet was, however, a token of the good relations existing between England and China; and about this time (1885) advantage was taken by the Marquis Tsêng of this friendly feeling to propose a convention on the subject of opium with the British Foreign Office. For the first time in the history of this much-vexed question, the importation of the drug had been recognised by the Treaty of 1858, which fixed the import duty on opium at 30 taels (about £4. 17s. 6d.) per picul (100 lbs.) and ordered that it should be sold at the port of entry, and carried into the interior as Chinese property. This laid the drug open to all the exactions which are summed up in the term *Likin*; and the injury done thereby, both to those who sold and those who bought, was so great that a cry was raised for reform in the duty. To remedy this state of things Lord Salisbury agreed with the Marquis Tsêng that, in addition to the duty of 30 taels per chest, a further sum of 80 taels should be paid at the port of entry in lieu of the *Likin* charges. This arrangement was so obviously to the advantage of the Chinese government, which would exchange the very small share of the *Likin* charges hitherto paid into its coffers for a definite sum of 80 taels per chest, that it was at once ratified; and it remains the current system at the present day.

By the Chefoo Convention (1876) it had remained within our right to send expeditions from India through Tibet to Yunnan whenever the Viceroy of India should see fit. In 1884 the Viceroy did see fit, and appointed Mr Macauley head of the mission. If Mr Macauley had started without delay, and had been accompanied by a small, unaggressive escort, he would probably have been allowed to make his way through the dreary solitudes of Tibet in peace. But the Indian government had quite other ideas on the subject. They intended that Mr Macauley should march through Tibet at the head of a large expedition of experts and others who were to spy out the land for the benefit of the outer barbarians. The pre-

liminary arrangements necessary for the undertaking alarmed the Chinese, who have ever had India before them as an object-lesson of the ease with which Europeans annex and appropriate Asiatic territories. They at once protested against so large an incursion of Englishmen and their followers. During the negotiations which followed, it happened that an opportunity presented itself of offering a compromise by which Chinese susceptibilities in Tibet should be left unwounded in exchange for a concession in Burma.

For some time our relations with Thebaw, King of Burma, had been in a very unsatisfactory condition. Under his rule our political and commercial rights had been systematically ignored; and there were grave suspicions that he was coquetting with another Power to our disadvantage. It was necessary therefore to act, and to act quickly. With as little delay as possible Mandalay was occupied; Thebaw was taken prisoner; and his kingdom was annexed. But, though the appropriation was thus easily effected, there yet remained to be considered the sentimental rights of China as suzerain of Burma. This position supplied the conditions necessary for a compromise; and it was agreed that the Macauley mission should be given up, and that China should, in exchange, resign all suzerainty over Burma. But, to "save her face," it was agreed that "inasmuch as it has been the practice of Burma to send decennial missions to the Court of China, to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority in Burma shall send the customary decennial mission, the members of the mission to be of the Burmese race." This was Article I of the "O'Conor Convention," which was signed at Peking on July 24, 1886. It illustrates the confused notions prevailing among the diplomatists of the Foreign Office respecting the ideas of Eastern peoples. For fifty years we had been doing all we could to impress on the Chinese the fact that a political equality existed between England and China, this being the only sure basis of satisfactory relations; and yet the

wiseacres at the Foreign Office and at the Peking Legation agreed vicariously to adopt the character of tribute-bearers. Fortunately the mistake thus committed was soon brought home to them, and after the sending of one mission the system was allowed to drop.

By Article II China agreed "that in all matters whatever appertaining to the authority and rule which England is now exercising in Burma, England shall be free to do whatever she deems fit and proper." Article IV laid it down that, "inasmuch as enquiry into the circumstances by the Chinese government has shown the existence of many obstacles to the mission to Tibet provided for in the separate article of the Chefoo Convention, England consents to countermand the mission forthwith." Thus both parties were satisfied. Great Britain gained undisputed possession of an important territory contiguous to her Indian Empire; and China escaped the mission of inspection to Tibet which she so much dreaded.

But, while the dependencies of China were dropping from her in the south (Tonquin) and south-west (Upper Burma), events were occurring in the provinces of her more immediate vassal, Korea, which were destined to end in that country ceasing to owe fealty to Peking. During the minority of the present King, his father, known as the T'aiwên Kun, had acted as regent, and had consistently pursued an anti-foreign policy. To all proposals from abroad to open relations with other States he had returned a contemptuous refusal; and when his son, after his accession, proposed to make a treaty with Japan, the T'aiwên Kun used every endeavour to frustrate the design. Fortunately his machinations failed, and the treaty was made. Finding himself unable to prevent the signature of the treaty, he endeavoured to embroil the relations between the two countries in order to make the treaty a dead letter. Some years later he instigated the mob of the capital, backed by soldiers, to make an attack on the Japanese Legation. So fierce was the assault that the diplomatists with their escort were obliged

to fight their way through the streets to the port of Chemulpo, where fortunately there happened to be an English gunboat on which the refugees found shelter. So soon as the news of this outrage reached Japan, a force was despatched to the peninsula to demand reparation. At the same time China sent troops to maintain peace; and for a couple of years the two armies encamped facing one another under the walls of the capital.

Meanwhile it had become plain to Li Hungchang, to whom the management of Korean affairs had been entrusted by the Dowager-Empress, that so long as the T'aiwên Kun had a free hand in Korea peace was impossible; and he therefore despatched a trusted lieutenant, named Ma, to kidnap the Regent. Matters of this kind were familiar to Ma, who taking with him a man-of-war steamed over to Chemulpo, where he ingratiated himself with the Regent, whom he invited to dinner on board his ship. While the unsuspecting Regent sat at meat, the ship steamed off; and the faithful Ma had the satisfaction of handing his prisoner over to Li's charge. By Imperial order this arch-mischief-maker was sentenced to live at Paoting Fu for the remainder of his life. "Let the Governor-General of Chihli," so ran the document, "continue bountifully to afford him such support as his rank demands, and strictly keep watch over him, that thus a cause of trouble and calamity to Korea may be removed, and the breach of the laws of kindred towards the prince of that kingdom be healed."

As compensation for the outrage committed on the Japanese Legation, Japan demanded that a sum of five hundred thousand dollars should be paid to the sufferers; that another treaty-port should be opened to trade; and that a mission of apology should be sent to Japan to satisfy the *amour propre* of the government. These terms were accepted and were carried out to the letter.

The peace which was thus patched up was of short duration. The Chinese government allowed the T'aiwên Kun to return to his native shores; and he had no sooner landed than he at

once renewed his policy of intrigue and violence. To his disgust he found that his absence had been taken advantage of to introduce several wise and much-needed reforms, amongst others a postal system. It so happened that the arrival of the exile synchronised with a congratulatory dinner, which was held to inaugurate this useful innovation (1884). On his initiative a party of reactionaries were introduced into the building, who attempted to take the King prisoner. This violence was resisted, and for days fighting continued in the capital, in which the Japanese supported the King against the revolutionaries. Being far outnumbered and hemmed in, the Japanese were again obliged to seek safety by fighting their way to the coast; and again an expeditionary force was landed in Korea to enforce terms of reparation. Following the lead thus given them, the Chinese sent troops to represent the suzerain Power; and thus the armies of the two sovereigns, each claiming control in Korea, were brought once again face to face in that country. The position was critical; but happily an open rupture was avoided by the appointment of plenipotentiaries to discuss the terms of a *modus vivendi*. In the discussions which followed, Count Ito represented Japan and Li Hungchang China. The meetings were held at Tientsin, and resulted in the conclusion of a treaty (April 18, 1885), in which it was agreed that the two contracting Powers should withdraw their troops from Korea "within four months, commencing from the date of the signing and sealing of this convention." The two Powers also agreed to invite the King of Korea to equip and drill a sufficient armed force to insure public security, and to urge him "to engage the services of an officer or officers from among those of a third Power." By a self-denying ordinance it was arranged that such officer or officers should not come from either Peking or Tōkiō. It was further laid down that, "in case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea which might necessitate the respective countries or either of them sending troops to Korea,

it is hereby understood that each shall give to the other previous notice in writing of its intention to do so, and that after the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops." It was a breach of this last clause by China which was the immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities in 1894.

While Korea was rapidly becoming the cock-pit of Eastern Asia, it was in danger of falling a victim to the diplomatic wiles of its great northern neighbour. Taking advantage of the concentration of general interest on the quarrel between China and Japan, Russia had stepped in and proposed a convention which would have placed the whole country under the protection of the Tsar. Happily the intrigue became known; and, at the instigation of China, the King of Korea politely declined to sign the document when it was placed before him. The danger was thus, for the time, averted; but, in view of similar circumstances arising, the British government determined to occupy a position in the neighbourhood of the disputed territory. The group of islands forming the harbour called Port Hamilton, off the southern coast of Korea, was chosen as the post of observation. Through the wise and energetic action of Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister at Peking, the Chinese government readily consented to the occupation; and in obedience to an Admiralty telegram ordering him to occupy Port Hamilton, Admiral Sir William Dowell hoisted the British flag on the islands in April, 1885.

This vigorous action naturally aroused the anger of the Russian government, which protested that if the island was allowed to remain British territory they would be compelled to take some foot-hold in the neighbourhood in self-defence. For some time the controversy waxed hot; but eventually the dispute was set at rest by the voluntary withdrawal of the British from Port Hamilton. Before leaving, however, they extracted an undertaking from the Chinese government that in no circumstances should a foreign Power be allowed to take

possession of the islands; and, in response to the demands of China, Russia at the same time gave her a positive assurance that she would not in any eventuality encroach on Korean territory. On February 27, 1887, the British flag ceased to fly over Port Hamilton. Before this event occurred Sir Harry Parkes's services were lost for ever to this country. He died suddenly at Peking on March 22, 1885, after a long and useful career in the Far East. A devoted patriot, a man of tried courage and of eminent ability, he served his country with marked success; and it is not too much to say that among the Chinese he exercised a personal influence greater than that which any foreigner before or since has been able to wield.

One practical result of the Franco-Chinese war, and the events which followed it, was the necessity for telegraphs and railways which had been shown to exist. From military and strategic points of view these innovations were urged upon the government by those among their own satraps who were sufficiently enlightened to be able to read the signs of the times. The well-known statesman and general, Tso Tsung-t'ang, who conducted the celebrated campaign in Central Asia for the recovery of the revolted provinces of the Empire, presented a strongly-worded memorial to the throne, in which he urged the adoption of railways for military and commercial reasons; and one of his last utterances on his death-bed was to the same effect. Mining also was included in the innovations recommended; and a short railway between Tientsin and the Kaiping coal-mines was the first outward and visible sign of the new movement. The utility of telegrams was capable of such easy and ready justification that they were quickly adopted, although for a time in the outlying districts popular feeling was opposed to them on the superstitious ground that they would interfere with the *Fêngshui* of the neighbourhoods. Within two or three years from the conclusion of peace Peking was connected by wire with Chungk'ing on the west, and with Canton on the south.

One other unexpected result followed from the Franco-Chinese War. While fighting was going on between the troops of the two countries, Pope Leo XIII addressed a letter to the Emperor of China asking that protection should be extended to Catholic converts, who had hitherto been under the protection of France. During the discussions which followed, it was suggested that the Pope should send a Nuncio to Peking, who should have the status of a foreign Minister. The Chinese favoured this suggestion, and added the proposal that all Catholics should look for official support to the representatives of their various countries rather than to France. Before peace was declared, negotiations in this direction had so far advanced that M. Agliardi was appointed the first Nuncio to Peking; and he was about to depart to his new sphere of activity when France interposed with a violent protest. It is unnecessary to point out that, in the absence of nearly all commercial interests, France employs her influence in China mainly in the protection of Catholics; and to yield that would be to resign her rank as a first-rate Power in the Far East. She therefore fought strenuously against the proposal, and so successfully that M. Agliardi gave up all idea of a voyage to China. But this concession was not yielded by the Chinese without a *quid pro quo*. The presence of a French cathedral, whose lofty walls and windows overlooked certain portions of the Imperial Palace, had always, since its erection in the reign of the Emperor K'anghsi (1661–1722), been a rock of offence to the Court; and, in return for the relinquishment of the idea of a Nuncio, the French government agreed to the demolition of the obnoxious cathedral, on condition that another and more suitable site, with a sum of money for the erection of a new building, should be given in exchange.

The year 1886 was not notable for any very striking events. Foreign relations were maintained with comparative smoothness; and advances were made in the direction of progress. Much of this improvement must be credited to the Marquis Tsêng,

who both in London and St Petersburg succeeded by tactful diplomacy in smoothing down the questions which were constantly arising between the East and the West. Unfortunately it was during this period that his term of office expired; and he returned to Peking, where he was instantly appointed one of the Ministers at the Tsungli Yamên. In this new atmosphere he found himself "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" by the antiquated notions of his colleagues, among a majority of whom his new ideas fresh from Europe failed to find acceptance. He was subsequently appointed Vice-President of the Board of Revenue, and in 1889 became Director of the Peking College. Unhappily his progressive policy brought him into collision with the Dowager-Empress. He, therefore, at once got into a position of danger; and he died of a mysterious disease contracted at a dinner given him by some of his colleagues (cf. p. 284). His death was a great loss to the welfare of the country, where his enlightened views might have done much to advance the true interests of his countrymen.

Before leaving London, Tsêng had taken part in the ratification of the opium convention arrived at between Lord Salisbury and himself. During the time of his service at the Tsungli Yamên he exercised a wholesome influence on Prince Ch'un, who since the degradation of Prince Kung had taken an active interest in politics, and had accepted the post of President of the new Board of Admiralty; and it was partly at his instigation that the Prince, contrary to all usage, was induced to visit the ports of Tientsin, Port Arthur, and Chefoo. His experience of foreigners on the expedition was so favourable that on his return he gave a great banquet to the foreign representatives and other foreigners at Peking.

One result of this official visit was that many of the German officers in the Chinese fleet were got rid of; and for the most part their places were filled by Englishmen. It is noticeable, however, that after every foreign war the tendency of the Chinese is to give appointments in the army and navy to

officers from the ranks of their late antagonists. After the war of 1860 English and French officers were in request; and parallel results followed after the Franco-Chinese War and that between China and Japan. In this case, however, though the naval appointments fell for the most part to the English, French engineers were entrusted to design and carry out the fortifications at Port Arthur, as well as those at Taku.

The increased interest in foreign affairs which was fostered by these and other events led to the introduction of daily newspapers, in which not only were the official notices which form the staple of the *Peking Gazette* reproduced, but general telegraphic and other news were given to the public. At Tientsin one such paper was published, which had the additional attraction of a weekly English edition for the benefit of foreign residents. China is such a huge country that it is impossible to expect it to move uniformly; and it is invariably the case that at any given time one can point to extreme cases of pro-foreign and anti-foreign tendencies in the various provinces. Thus it happened that, while in certain provinces there appeared to be hopeful signs of advance, in others the torch of ignorant fanaticism was kept blazing.

In Kwangsi attacks were made on missionaries and their flocks at the instigation of agitators who spread abroad the usual reports attributing all sorts of unspeakable atrocities to the foreigners. At Chênkiang, on some groundless plea connected with the mission premises, the mob broke in with violence and bound and grossly ill-treated two English missionaries. Happily they were speedily released; and an apology was received for their detention. About the same time, a more serious outbreak occurred at Chungk'ing in Szech'uan, where the British Consulate and nine missionary establishments were wrecked and much property was destroyed. Several explanations have been offered to account for this last outburst, and among others the fact that news had lately been received from America that at Seattle on the west coast gross outrages had been perpetrated

on the Chinese residents, who had been marched in a body to the wharf by the "Knights of Labour" with the intention of deporting them. Happily a higher authority than that of the Knights of Labour intervened; and they were restored to their homes. An apology for the outrage was tendered to and accepted by the Chinese government; and liberal compensation was paid for the damage and inconvenience entailed.

While, however, foreign relations were going smoothly at Peking, events were reaching a dangerous stage on the Indo-Tibetan frontier. As has been already stated, Mr Macauley's proposed mission through Tibet was, at the last moment, given up. Experience in the East has taught us—or if it has not, it ought to have—that to the Oriental mind the relinquishment of a proposed advance is invariably interpreted as a sign of weakness. So did the abandonment of the Macauley mission appear to the Lamas, who at once advanced along the road to Sikhim and erected forts on the Indian side of the Himalayan crest. This was more than even the easy-going Indian government could put up with; and notice was sent to the Tibetan authorities warning them that, unless they had withdrawn from their advanced position on British territory by March 15, 1889, they would be driven out. At the date named we made an advance; and without any difficulty our troops under Col. Graham drove the Tibetans across the frontier. Instead of following up our advantage Col. Graham retired to Gnatung within our frontier, while the Tibetans proceeded to fortify the Jelap Pass on the other side of the crest of the mountains. Here matters remained at a deadlock, while the question was referred to Peking. With the leisurely manner common to the Chinese, the Emperor's government in response to a request from India despatched an official from Kuldja to act as commissioner in determining the further relations which were to govern the frontier state of Sikhim. It was some months before this mandarin reached the Indian frontier; and he played to perfection his part in delaying the negotiations.

That there has always been a strong objection raised to the presence of foreigners on the soil of Tibet is beyond question; but from whom the spirit of obstruction originates it is very difficult to say. The Abbé Huc was under the impression that his dismissal from Lhasa (1844) was due to the Chinese Resident and not to the Lamas; on the other hand, all our recent information on the subject points to the belief that the main opposition to foreigners comes from the Lamas. The fact is that neither the Chinese nor the Lamas are at all well disposed towards the outer barbarians; and the reasons which influence them are partly commercial and partly political. The great trade of Tibet is in tea, which is imported from the south-western provinces of China. The thirst for tea is a passion with the Tibetans, to whom it is supplied in bricks, in the preparation of which fermentation forms a part. The result is that it has a slightly intoxicating effect; and the people become so completely dependent on it that it has become a necessity to them. On this drug the Lamas levy heavy dues; and it is therefore as much their interest to maintain the present traffic as it is that of the Chinese to keep up the supply from their own provinces. The opening of the road from Sikhim into Tibet would at once lead to the introduction of the inferior and cheaper teas of Assam into the country, and would thus strike a very serious blow to the China trade.

Having the example of our absorption of India before their eyes, both the Chinese and Tibetans fear, not unnaturally, the insertion of the thin edge of the wedge, and so are united in the determination to keep us out of the country. In adopting a Fabian policy, the Chinese commissioner, Chang, was doubtless carrying out the wishes of the authorities both at Lhasa and Peking. But there is a point beyond which such a line of policy is inadmissible; and, in reply to urgent representations addressed to the Tsungli Yamên, Mr James Hart, a brother of Sir R. Hart, was sent to Calcutta to assist at the

negotiations. By his arguments Chang was at length persuaded that one-half of Sikhim was on the southern or Indian slope of the mountains; and, this fact having been borne in upon him, it was an easy matter to arrive at such terms as might be expressed in a convention. This was done, and on March 17, 1890, an agreement was signed by which it was laid down that the crest of the mountains was to form the boundary between Tibet and Sikhim, and that the "British government, whose Protectorate over the Sikhim State is hereby recognised, has direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of that State." A British Protectorate over Sikhim was thus established; and it was further arranged that Yatung, on the Tibetan side of the frontier, should be opened as a trading mart, to which the government of India should be free to send officers to reside to watch the conditions of British trade. Merchants were to be free to travel to and fro between the frontier and Yatung, and were to be at liberty to rent houses and godowns for their accommodation and the storage of their goods. This convention marked the closing scenes in the Sikhim dispute with China; but, though hopes were, at the time, entertained that a substantial trade would grow up, it cannot be said as yet that the new departure has added much to the volume of British commerce.

CHAPTER XIV.

INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER INNOVATIONS IN CHINA.

THE time had now arrived when, according to Chinese ideas, the Emperor had come of age,—he was 16,—and when it was necessary that he should emphasise the fact by taking to himself an Empress. For many months the Dowager-Empress and her subordinates had been busied in selecting a fitting lady to share his throne. It was necessary that she should be a Manchu, and that her appearance and manner should justify so great a promotion. After much consultation and many comparisons the lot fell upon Yeh-ho-na-la, the daughter of General Kwei-hsiang, a brother of the Dowager-Empress, and also of the Emperor's mother; consequently the future Empress was a cousin of the Emperor. This choice having been made, the person most interested, the Emperor, not having had a word to say in the matter, a decree was issued in which the selection was announced, and in which the lady was described as "a maiden of virtuous conduct, and becoming and dignified demeanour." But according to custom she was not to go unaccompanied to the palace, for the decree went on to say, "We command that T'a-t'a-la, aged 15, the daughter of Ch'ang Hsü, a former Vice-President of a Board, be raised to the position of concubine of the fourth degree, and that another daughter of the same officer, aged 13, be

appointed a concubine of the same degree." A further edict decreed the order in which the different parts of the great ceremony should occur. "First," so ran this document, "will take place the sending of presents to the bride; then the actual marriage; next, joint worship of the Imperial pair; the conferring of a patent as Empress on the bride, presentation to the Dowager-Empress, reception of felicitations, and an Imperial banquet."

All the arrangements were on the most lavish scale. The amount expended on them will never be known, but some indication may be gathered from the fact that the distant and comparatively small province of Fuhkien was called upon to contribute 390,000 taels towards the expenditure. The ceremony took place on a day chosen by the Astronomical Board in the first month of the year corresponding to 1889, and was the signal for a shower of honours on native officials. Nor was Sir Robert Hart forgotten, for by a special decree it was ordained "that a Title of Honour of the first class of the first rank be conferred upon his (Sir R. Hart's) ancestors for three generations." At the same time the officials of the Tsungli Yamên were commanded "to select a day in the second moon on which to entertain with due courtesy at the Yamên the foreign representatives...and We further confer upon them sceptres, rolls of satin, and other articles."

But the marriage of the Emperor was, in more ways than one, an introduction to a fuller life. It was the signal for the retirement of the Dowager-Empress from affairs of state, and for the assumption of power by the Emperor. This public event was proclaimed in several edicts, in which the Dowager-Empress bewailed the necessity which had compelled her to assume the government, and her profound desire that the Emperor, who had "applied himself with such zeal and success to the task of governing," should now take the management of affairs into his own hands; while the Emperor expressed his intense gratitude to the Dowager-Empress that "for many

years in an unexampled manner she had given herself to the severest labour, toiling day and night and knowing no rest."

After these expressions of regard it remained only for the Emperor to confer an honorary title on the Dowager-Empress and to assign her a residence. He performed the first duty by ordering that she should for the future be officially described as *Tz'ŭ-hsi-tuan-yu-k'ang-hsi-chao-yü-chuang-ch'êng-shou-kung-ch'in-hsien-ch'ung-hsi Huang T'ai Hou*, i.e. Kind-auspicious-correct-protecting-strong-deep-bright-satisfied-sedate-sincere-long-lived-revered-respected-ingratiating-noble-splendid Imperial Empress; and he assigned the Iho Park, at Yuen-ming-yuen, as her residence. Later history has taught us that this arrangement was only of a temporary nature, and that the Iho Park with all its magnificence was too narrow for the ambitious designs of the lady in question.

The assumption of power by the Emperor made it necessary for the foreign representatives to consider their position with regard to the audience question. As already stated, the European Ministers had been received by the Emperor T'ungchih in a manner not befitting the occasion, but still in such a way as to make a distinct advance on previous diplomatic intercourse; and it was felt that the accession to power of Kwang-hsü might be expected to usher in a still further improvement. In some respects this was the case, though the general result was disappointing. In 1873 the Ministers had been received in the Tz'u-kwang Pavilion of the Palace, a hall where Tibetan and Mongolian vassals are accustomed to kotow before the Son of Heaven. Unfortunately the Ministers submitted in this case also to make their bows in the same pavilion. In announcing the coming ceremony T'ungchih had issued the curt, discourteous, and untruthful edict already quoted (p. 140); but in the present instance this was exchanged for a far longer document in which Kwang-hsü, after some general remarks, went on to say:

"In the first and second month of last year (February, 1888), when there were special reasons for expressing national joy, I received a gracious decree from the Dowager-Empress, ordering the Ministers of the Yamên for Foreign Affairs to entertain the Ministers of the foreign nations at a banquet.... I have now been in charge of the government for two years. The Ministers of the foreign Powers ought to be received by me at an audience; and I hereby decree that the audience to be held be in accordance with that of the twelfth year of the reign of T'ungchih (1873). It is also hereby decreed that a day be fixed every year for an audience, in order to show my desire to treat with honour all the Ministers of the foreign Powers resident in Peking, whether fully empowered or temporarily in charge of the affairs of their governments. The Ministers of the Yamên for Foreign Affairs are hereby ordered to prepare in the first month of the ensuing New Year a memorial asking that a time for an audience may be fixed. On the next day the foreign Ministers are to be received at a banquet at the Foreign Office. The same is to be done every year in the first month; and the rule will be the same on each occasion. New Ministers coming will be received at this annual audience. At all times of national congratulation, when China and the foreign countries give suitable expression to their joy, the Ministers of the Foreign Office are also to offer a memorial asking for the bestowal of a banquet, to show the sincere and increasing desire of the Imperial government for the maintenance of peace and the best possible relations between China and the foreign States. In regard to the details, the Yamên is hereby ordered to memorialise for instructions on each occasion[1]."

The publication of this edict came as a surprise to the foreign representatives, who beyond having expressed a wish to be received in audience had not taken any steps to urge

[1] The *Peking Gazette*.

the Emperor to conform to the custom of civilised States. There was a spontaneity about it which was gratifying to them; and, though the order that the ceremony was to conform to that of 1873 was not what they could have wished, they were not disposed to look a gift-horse in the mouth. Therefore, when the further notice appeared that "at half-past eleven on the morrow the Emperor would receive all the nations in audience at the Tz'u-kwang Pavilion," they obeyed the invitation. Instead of being received all together, as in 1873, an audience on this occasion was accorded to each; but there was the same unseemly crowding in the waiting-room and audience-chamber as at the earlier function.

In each case, as the Minister was presented, the Emperor addressed to him, through Prince Ching, some complimentary phrases; and throughout his manner was courteous and considerate. It was felt, however, that the time had come when such a slight as that of holding the audience in the Tz'u-kwang Pavilion should be done away with; and at a meeting of the foreign Ministers it was determined that they would not again submit to be received in that Hall. The result of this determination on their part was that no reception was held at the following new year. The unwisdom of holding out on this point seems to have been brought home to the Emperor's advisers, for on the Austrian Minister applying for an audience he was received without demur in the Chêng-kwang Hall of the Palace, which, though not an official reception hall, had never been used for the entertainment of representatives of vassal States. Some months later Mr O'Connor, the newly-arrived British Minister, presented his credentials there; and his example was followed by the German Minister.

It was, however, reserved for the pressure of stern necessity to break down this absurd barrier between China and the Western kingdoms. In 1894 war broke out with Japan; and it soon became apparent that the troops of China were no match for the well-drilled and well-armed battalions of the Land of

the Rising Sun. In these circumstances it became the policy of the Chinese government to conciliate the foreigners in every possible way; and, as the foreign representatives had made it known that they desired a reception which would mark more than any which had been granted the equality of the sovereigns represented with the Son of Heaven, the palace gates were at last opened to them. On the 12th of November, 1894, they were received in the Wên-hwa Hall of the Palace; and a short official paragraph in the *Peking Gazette* announced the fact to the nation at large.

One still further advance was made, in 1898, on the occasion of the visit of Prince Henry of Germany to Peking. This was the first time that a Prince of the blood had entered the Chinese capital; and great preparations were made for his reception. At Tangku, near Taku, he was met by the Viceroy of the province, who escorted him on his way. The saloon railway carriage which had lately been constructed for the Dowager-Empress was placed at his disposal; and every effort was made to insure his comfort. On arriving at Peking he was received by the Dowager-Empress, and had the pleasure of kissing her hand. Nothing could have been more gracious than her manner towards him; and to him she confided her intention of receiving the ladies of the Legations on her next birthday. At the Emperor's palace the Prince met with an equally cordial reception. Not only did the Emperor receive him standing, but stepped down from his daïs to bid him welcome. Having shaken hands with him he invited him to a seat beside him, and conversed with him for some time. Later in the day the Son of Heaven returned the Prince's visit, and thus ranged himself among the number of civilised sovereigns.

These innovations were not, however, abruptly introduced, but had been led up to by a growing conviction in the minds of the rulers that as a nation they were behindhand, and that it behoved them, if they were to maintain their position as an Empire, to advance upon the line of progressive civilisation.

When a nation such as China arrives at this frame of mind it naturally approves, in the first instance, of material rather than of moral and intellectual reforms. It was, therefore, in the direction of railways and telegraphs that the people at first directed their attention. As has already been mentioned (p. 217), a short line from Shanghai to Wusung was opened to traffic in 1876. But the venture was in advance of the time, and the line was, as we have seen, removed. To Li Hungchang must be placed the credit of having built the first permanent railway in China. He was interested in the K'aip'ing coal-mines near Tientsin; and it had become obvious to him that a railway would facilitate work at the mines, and would at the same time multiply his profits. In these circumstances his course was clear. A railway was to be made; and he gave it to be understood that anyone who raised a voice against the undertaking would be dealt with according to the full rigour of the law. The familiar superstition of *Fêngshui*, which had so often proved fatal to similar undertakings, was exorcised. Even the dead were removed from inconveniently-placed graveyards without a murmur; and the work was completed with ease and despatch.

About this time (1887), at the instigation of the Marquis Tsêng, the Board of Admiralty presented a memorial to the throne, in which they proposed the construction of a railway from Taku to Tientsin and Shanhaikwan, for the purpose of facilitating the movements of troops in that important neighbourhood, and the transport of coal which they described as "the life and the pulse of the navy." In a long state paper the memorialists expounded the advantages to be gained by the proposed lines, and, being moved "by the necessity of the times, and their desire for the welfare of the nation," begged to invite the sanction of her Majesty the Empress to the undertaking.

But, though the arguments of the memorialists were unimpeachable, their proposal stank in the nostrils of the conserva-

tive Board of Censors, many of whom entered violent protests against the project, and attributed a fire which broke out at the palace at this crisis to the anger of the gods that any such idea could have entered into the heads of the followers of Confucius. So powerful was the party represented by these men that the Imperial sanction was withheld; and an appeal was made to the provincial Viceroys for their opinions on the subject. Fortunately the majority were in favour of the innovation, though some even of those desired to introduce amendments. The celebrated Viceroy Chang Chihtung, for example, while giving the scheme his general approval, held that railways should not be made near the coast-line, lest they should facilitate the advance inland of an invading host. The proposal, however, was adopted; and a prospectus was issued for the construction of a railway from K'aip'ing to Lutai, Peitâng, and the north shore of the Peiho to Tientsin, a distance of about 100 English miles. To cover the expenses of the work it was proposed to issue 10,000 shares at 100 taels per share, bringing the capital of the new company up to 1,000,000 taels. It was hoped by the projectors that this sum would have been readily subscribed. But the people fought shy of the investment. They had had some experience of the way in which shareholders are treated by the officials at the head of such undertakings as the Chinese Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, and they were unwilling to risk capital which was to be dealt with by directors of the same kind. The burden therefore fell on the State; but the railways were made, and so thoroughly justified their existence that at the present time lines are completed or are in course of construction in many parts of the Empire.

But the advance which had been made in China was not altogether confined to the material appliances of Western civilisation. As has been already stated, Prince Kung presented, so long ago as 1866, a memorial to the throne, advocating the addition of mathematics to the subjects set at the public

examinations. The idea did not find favour; and, though one or two Viceroys made tentative efforts in the direction proposed by the Prince, the project met with no practical response. Another scheme suggested by the Prince was, however, carried out. He advised the establishment of a school of modern science, which he suggested should be affiliated to the Tung-wên College at Peking. To this school he proposed that native scholars of eminence should be admitted, and that professors from the West should be invited to superintend their studies. This project was approved; and, through the instrumentality of Sir Robert Hart, scholars were secured to fill the chairs of Chemistry, Astronomy, French, English, Military Science, and Chinese. In theory the scheme was excellent, but in practice it failed utterly. Native scholars of eminence would not touch the unclean thing; and only a few students availed themselves of the advantages offered.

The foreign department of the college continued to exist, however, under the guidance of Dr Martin, the principal; and, as time went on, the number of students increased. A printing-office was attached to the college, from which were issued works on scientific and other subjects; and a good library afforded the students a means of acquiring that general knowledge of which they were so profoundly in want.

Many memorials on the subject of scientific education were presented to the throne by censors and others, in one of which it was gravely proposed that opportunities should be offered to Europeans to enable them to compete at the native public examinations, and thus qualify themselves for the Mandarinate. But a more practical scheme, which was virtually a revival of Prince Kung's proposal, was advocated by an official censor, and was adopted by the Tsungli Yamên. In this state paper the advantages of a scientific education were fully described; and every effort was made to propitiate opponents by the ingenious plea that, after all, European science was in the first instance gathered from China, and that it was due to the

plodding industry of the Western mind that the outer barbarians were now at an advantage compared with the subjects of the Middle Kingdom. This inferiority was therefore a shame to the Chinese, who should use their best endeavour to recover the superiority which in the early ages belonged to them.

"Mathematics," wrote the memorialists, "is classed as one of the six arts (these being ceremonial observances, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics). During the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–255), in advancing their men of talent and virtue, they (the rulers) considered those who understood mathematics as belonging to the six professions; and during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) men qualified in mathematics were selected for official preferment."

Having thus thrown a sop to the violent anti-progressionists, the writers went on to formulate their proposal: "It is proposed, therefore," they said, "that his Majesty should direct the provincial literary chancellors to issue, at the competitive examinations, beside the subjects usually given in classics and poetry, a theme on mathematics; and, should there be candidates for honours in that study, and they be found proficient, that their examination papers should be submitted to the inspection of the Tsungli Yamên, and their names be officially registered."

All this was excellent, so far as it went. But, like so many of the proposals in the direction of reform which have been brought forward and approved by the throne, this was doomed not to advance beyond the initial stage of principle. The ruling powers have no genuine desire for any such innovations; and the learned classes in the Empire were, almost without exception, bitterly opposed to them. To such people the approval of the Court has only an academic interest; and it never enters into their imagination that the changes proposed should necessarily find expression in practice. It may be that at some few examinations papers were set in mathematics; but such instances formed quite the exception, and practically

the course of examination has remained unchanged by the Tsungli Yamên's zeal and the Emperor's approval.

The bent of the Chinese mind is to let things alone; and it is only under the pressure of disaster that it can ever be brought to recognise the necessity of infusing new elements of strength into the government. It was after the struggle with France that this spasmodic action was taken by the censors; and we have since seen that both the Japanese War and the campaign of 1900 have produced similar suggestions for putting their house in order with similarly small effect.

What the Chinese are unable to do themselves, however, foreigners are doing for them. It has long been recognised that the idea of introducing scientific papers at the examinations presents hopeless difficulties; and that the only way of reaching the people who, if they had the opportunity, would be glad to profit by instruction, is by disseminating translations of works on science, history, and general knowledge throughout the country. In this excellent work the "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese," and the "Central China Religious Tract Society" have taken leading parts. The work was undertaken with so genuine a desire to benefit the people, and in so wise and tactful a manner, that it was successful from the beginning; and the reports for the year 1902 bear evidence to the vast proportions to which it has attained. The copies of books and tracts issued by the Tract Society during 1902 amounted to about double the issue of the preceding year, and was 230,000 above the highest figures of any previous year. The total issues were upwards of 1,700,000.

The figures presented by the Christian Knowledge Society are equally satisfactory. During the same year the sales of its publications brought in no less a sum than 33,299 dollars. In free and special grants the Society gave away books to about the same value, and it distributed books gratis to students at the public examinations. These figures by no means represent

the sum total of the books circulated in the Empire, as in many publishing centres the works are freely pirated, and it is impossible to form any idea of the extent to which this illicit trade is carried on[1].

All works of these kinds find ready purchasers, among whom are such august personages as the Emperor, Chang Chihtung, Yuan Shihkai, the late Liu Kunyi and others. There can be no question that a gradual and increasing effect is being produced on the national mind by the circulation of these and similar works. It is well known that the early Jesuit missionaries gained much of their influence by publishing translations of European works on science and history. In their case, however, it was mainly with the intention of influencing the official classes that they devoted themselves to the task. The present movement has no such limited aim, but strives to enlighten all classes of the people from the highest to the lowest. It is impossible to suppose that the spread of this educational force will not gradually leaven the whole mass and infuse into the nation the energy and power to resist the narrow, bigoted, and reactionary policy of its Manchu rulers.

It is always difficult to recognise in China, as in all Oriental countries, whose is the power that stands behind the throne,

[1] To illustrate the kind of work which these Societies are doing, the following titles of the new books issued by the Christian Knowledge Society in 1902 may be quoted:—

Darkness and Dawn; *Tribulations of the Church in China*; A. Murray's *Spirit of Christ*; *Wonders of Nature*; *Brief History of Indian Peoples*; Lord Northbrook's *Teaching of Jesus*; Professor Goodspeed's *Messianic Hopes*; *Tariff and Likin*, by G. Jamieson; *The History of the Reformation*; *The Life of Wickliffe*; *Geography for Home Readers*. Among the books now in the press are, *History of Civilisation*; Paul Bret's *First Years of Science*; *History of Politics*; *History of Canada*; Bushell's *Character of Jesus*; *Story of Eclipses*; *Fifty Years of Science*; Ponchet's *Universe*; *Comparative Anatomy*; *History of the Czars of Russia*; *The Essentials of a National Religion*; *How we got the Bible*; Hale's *International Law*; and *Till the Doctor comes*.

and what importance is to be attached to the Imperial edicts which are supposed to indicate the policy that is guiding the State. Occasionally, and notably in 1898, edicts appear which would seem to contain the seed of wide and important reforms; but, before the ink of the Imperial pencil is dry, the provincial and other authorities virtually agree to ignore them, and do ignore them. More especially does this appear to have been the case since the Dowager-Empress has held the reins of power; and petulant decrees have been repeatedly issued, which have had no more effect than if blank sheets of paper had been published abroad. As has already been said, the first decrees approving the introduction of railways were allowed to become virtually a dead letter; and another edict which was published about the same time (1887) on reforms in the currency proved equally ineffective.

It may be said that there is no currency in China. The only existing coin is the "cash," twenty of which go to make up the value of a penny. All larger sums are reckoned by weight of silver. The intense inconvenience of this system has only to be stated to be understood; and the evils connected with it are aggravated by the taste that the Chinese have for adulterating everything. The cash are supposed to be composed of copper; but the presence of foreign matter is all too plain in every specimen of the coin taken in the hand. This evil the Dowager-Empress set herself to put right; and her way of doing so was to issue the following recriminatory decree:

"Recent consideration of the financial resources of the country has led us to believe that in opening and working mines of iron, copper, and other metals we should be utilising the heaven-sent riches of the earth. The high provincial authorities, however, have constantly thrown difficulties in the way of this policy, and have with one accord in their memorials shown an inclination to shirk responsibility. Moreover, what is far worse, they have sought how they might borrow pretexts and raise objections in order that hereafter they may be able to back

out of all responsibility. This kind of shuffling merits the greatest abhorrence. That the old coinage must be reverted to, and the cash system must of necessity be rectified, has been repeatedly insisted upon in our decrees. Yet these Presidents of the Board do all they can to obstruct them, thus showing themselves utterly unworthy of their posts[1]."

Foreigners had long adopted Mexican dollars as the currency of the treaty-ports; and, in her newly-born zeal for coining money, the Dowager-Empress followed up the above decree by one authorising the Viceroy of the two Kwang provinces to establish a mint. At this time Chang Chihtung held the office of Viceroy; and it was in consequence of his well-known leaning towards reform that this duty was entrusted to him. He willingly undertook it, and ordered the necessary machinery for the coining of dollars and cash from England. But the people had to be reckoned with. They received the new coins with a suspicion which was engendered by the ease with which coiners imitated them. But the new coinage never had a fair chance, for, before the people had become accustomed to it, Chang Chihtung was transferred to the two Hu provinces; and his successor, who had no taste for innovations, promptly closed the mint. Other viceroys and governors attempted in vain to issue dollars of their own manufacture; and in spite of the Emperor's commands the whole Empire once again reverted to the copper cash and silver by weight.

Meanwhile the French were briskly engaged in furthering schemes for the enlargement of their borders in Tonquin. They had, as has been seen, concluded a treaty with China in 1886; but before a twelvemonth had expired this document was found not to express the desires and wishes of the French. In 1887 a further convention was signed, by which it was arranged that the towns of Lungchow in Kwangsi and Mêng-tzŭ

[1] The *Peking Gazette*.

in Yunnan should be opened to foreign trade; that French and Annamese merchant-vessels should be allowed to navigate certain inland waters; that the frontier between China and Tonquin should be further delimited; and that the import and export of opium across the Chinese frontier should be legalised.

The evident endeavour of the French government to absorb the trade of the southern provinces of China induced the Hongkong Chamber of Commerce to agitate for the opening of the West River, which, rising in the province of Yunnan, runs a long and winding course through the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, and finally discharges its waters in the estuary between Canton and Hongkong. This great waterway forms the natural outlet for the trade of south-western and southern China, and from a Chinese point of view would prove a far more profitable channel than that afforded by the Red River by way of Tonquin. The Chinese have always had a rooted objection to giving foreigners the right of travelling and settling in the interior of the Empire; and to the proposal of the Chamber they returned the plea of *non possumus*. They enlarged on the opposition which would be aroused among the people by the bare idea of steamers and launches interfering with the business of the native junks, and of the trade passing from the hands of the native merchants into those of their foreign competitors. So urgently were these arguments pressed that the question was allowed to rest until lately, when a convention was concluded by which the river has been opened so far as Nanningfu, 560 miles from its mouth. Beyond this point navigation is only possible by native boats; but by their means goods can be carried without difficulty to Paisê on the frontier of Yunnan.

Similar objections to those brought forward in this instance were offered at the same time (1888) to the proposal to navigate the upper waters of the Yangtsze-kiang in accordance with the Chefoo convention. By the terms of that treaty the

river between Ich'ang and Chungk'ing was to be opened to steam traffic. Four hundred miles of stormy waters separate these two ports; and the passage of junks over the rapids which occur at frequent intervals gives employment to many thousand trackers and boatmen. The proposal to introduce steam on these waters filled the minds of the people with genuine alarm; and it was only after much pressure that the following clause was admitted into the convention:

"The British government will further be free to send officers to reside at Chungk'ing, to watch the conditions of the British trade in Szech'uan. British merchants will not be allowed to reside at Chungk'ing, nor to open establishments or warehouses there, so long as no steamers have access to the port. When steamers have succeeded in ascending the rivers so far, further arrangements can be taken into consideration."

This constructive permission for steamers to run on the upper waters was most unaccountably allowed to remain a dead letter until the year 1888, when Mr Archibald Little succeeded in forming a small company in England for the purpose of giving force to this article. Acting with energy and perseverance, he brought to Shanghai a small steamer especially constructed to pass the rapids of the Yangtsze. Desiring to do everything openly and aboveboard, he reported to Sir John Walsham, the British Minister at Peking, that he was about to make the ascent of the rapids. The announcement at once aroused a storm of opposition on the part of the officials of the Tsungli Yamên, who began by declaring that their permission had, by the lapse of time, become obsolete, and pleaded for delay in order that the minds of the people might become accustomed to the idea of the change. Otherwise, they said, open opposition and rioting were to be feared. The matter was undoubtedly a difficult one to decide. On the one hand the success of the attempt was very doubtful; and, even if the steamer should survive the rapids, the amount of trade likely to be encouraged by it was problematical, while on the contrary there appeared

to be a certainty of strong local opposition and the likelihood of open rioting. In these circumstances Sir John Walsham decided to forbid the attempt; and for another decade the enterprise was deferred.

The disappointment felt at the postponement of a project which had long been mooted was considerable, more especially as proclamations had been issued by the local native authorities announcing the arrival of the steamer and warning the people against indulging in any hostile action. But arguments were apparently used at Peking which convinced Sir J. Walsham that the time had not arrived when the passage could be made with advantage; and in consequence the prohibition was for the time being enforced.

It is possible that certain missionary riots which occurred in Shantung and elsewhere at about this period (1888) may have had something to do with guiding Sir John Walsham to the above decision. The position of foreigners in the interior is always one of uncertainty; and the wisdom of thrusting isolated persons into hostile districts where foreigners and their ways are almost unknown might have suggested the deferment of the undertaking until a more convenient season.

It has often been remarked that on some very important and almost vital questions the Chinese government will yield with ease and apparent indifference, while on another minor matter it will show itself firm and unbending. While it was using every artifice to oppose the opening of the upper waters of the Yangtsze, it was virtually ceding to Portugal the peninsula of Macao. For some time the Portuguese had been attempting to rearrange their relations with China; but it was reserved for Señor Thomas de Souza Roza, the Portuguese envoy at the Court of Peking, to succeed in bringing the long-standing discussion to a close. It will be remembered that in 1557 China allowed the Portuguese to settle on the peninsula of Macao, on payment of a yearly rental of five hundred taels, in gratitude for assistance received in the suppression

of piracy in the southern seas. This rental was paid until the year 1848, when the Governor, Amaral, who was subsequently assassinated in broad daylight in the streets of Macao, refused to continue to pay the required sum and expelled the Chinese mandarins from the settlement. From that time onwards the Portuguese lived at Macao on sufferance until 1887, when a treaty was arranged, by the terms of which China confirmed the perpetual occupation and government of Macao and its dependencies by Portugal, as in the case of any other Portuguese possession. In exchange, Portugal agreed never to alienate Macao and its dependencies without the consent of China.

If it were not for the national *amour propre*, it is difficult to understand why Portugal should continue to incur the cost of keeping up a staff of officials and a garrison at Macao. In the early days of communication with China the Portuguese held the honourable post of pioneers; and at that period their commercial interest in China was considerable. But matters have much changed now. While the trade between China and other nations of the West has increased by leaps and bounds, the share which originally belonged to Portugal has dwindled away, until at the present day it presents but a shadow of its former substance. An insignificant traffic in tea, opium, and silk is all that is left; and the government depends on the fees derived from the local gambling-houses to eke out its scanty revenue. The great majority of the inhabitants are half-castes; and, if it were not that the position of the peninsula with regard to Hongkong and Canton gives it a strategic value, its existence might very readily be ignored. On more than one occasion the French have shown a desire to gain a footing in the colony; and for the preservation of peace in China it is well that the clause forbidding Portugal to alienate the peninsula without the consent of China was inserted in the treaty.

The increased intercourse between China and Europe was

at this time (1888) making itself felt in the shape of a better understanding as to the civilisations of the East and West. The establishment of Legations in the foreign capitals had done much to enlighten the Court as to the relative values of the systems of education current in the different countries, as well as to the political importance of many of the mechanical appliances which it had been accustomed to decry. Li Hung-chang was one of the first to recognise that all the wisdom in the world was not embodied in the writings of Confucius, and, though he had never been out of China, he had seen enough to convince him that his countrymen had much to learn from the outer barbarians.

He had noted what rapid strides Japan had made in power and prestige in consequence of her adoption of Western ideas; and since, as Viceroy of the metropolitan province, he was responsible for the army and navy of the north, he was determined to do all that lay in his power to follow the example of the neighbouring islanders. With this object he established colleges at Tientsin, where the rising generation was instructed in the naval and military arts, as well as in medical and engineering science. He obtained the services of professors from Europe; and good work was done by students in various branches of knowledge. The results, however, were not so marked as might have been expected. So long as the pupils were under the eye of their instructors everything went well. But so soon as the naval cadets joined their ships, and the young subalterns donned their military uniforms, the inveterate tendency of the Chinese to revert to their native condition came into play; and the disastrous plight of the ships and regiments when the war broke out with Japan was the result. However, some good was done; and the attempt to adopt the European weapons of war and the appliances of peace accustomed the people from the highest to the lowest to imbibe new ideas. This wave of enlightenment spread even to the Imperial palace, where steam-yachts were introduced, which

carried the Son of Heaven and his consort over the smooth waters of the palace lakes; and at the same time the electric light made brilliant the halls and pavilions where formerly native oil-lamps had struggled dimly with the pervading darkness.

Meanwhile a counter-current was running against the Chinese in the United States and the Australian colonies. For some years large numbers of emigrants from China, attracted by the gold-diggings in California, had poured into that State. They were patient and industrious workers, and excited no ill-will so long as they confined their attention to gold-digging; but, when they began to settle in the towns and to compete in the labour-market with the white working-men, a strong opposition to their presence was aroused. As labourers and mechanics they were in all respects the equals of the white man, while their economical habits enabled them to work for lower wages than their rivals would accept. This condition of things aroused an active campaign against them; and political candidates found that there was no more popular policy than that which was directed towards the exclusion of the Chinese from the States. So strong was the movement that the legislature passed a bill forbidding the landing of Chinese on the shores of the States. The anomalous result followed that, while the American government was urging the Tsungli Yamên to grant greater privileges to American citizens in China, the American legislature was doing that which had been universally condemned when China had attempted to impose similar disabilities on immigrants from the great Republic.

A similar movement in Canada had resulted in the same prohibition. In each case the habits and morals of the Chinese were put forward as the exciting causes of their exclusion. A more practical motive, however, was to be traced in the movement; and, if the Chinese settlers had not been so frugal and industrious, it is probable that they would have been allowed to domicile themselves without question.

Influenced by the examples thus set them, the working-

classes in Australia and New Zealand raised the standard of war against Chinese immigrants. At first a poll-tax of £10 per head was imposed on all celestials as they stepped on the shores of Australasia. Being further from the Chinese coast than is the American continent, Australia had less reason to complain of the influx of these visitors: not more than an average of 600 a year presented themselves for landing between the years of 1861 and 1886. But even these small numbers offended the white people; and it was proposed that an order should be issued peremptorily forbidding the importation of these industrious Asiatics. Before, however, this could be done, the matter had been automatically settled by the fact that the immigration practically ceased. This reactionary attitude on the part of foreigners put a weapon in the hands of the Chinese against ourselves and the United States which they did not fail to use.

Whether this inhospitality was or was not the moving cause of the series of anti-foreign riots which broke out in China at this time (1889), certain it is that a very hostile spirit was manifested at several of the treaty-ports, as well as in the capital itself. Not only were visitors pelted in the streets of Peking, but the foreign representatives themselves were insulted by the *gamins*, who threw mud and stones indiscriminately at all foreigners who passed. And this hostile attitude was not confined to the man in the street. Even the members of the Tsungli Yamên so far forgot their duties as hosts to the foreign diplomatists as to subject them to impertinences. Immediately after the campaign of 1860 the sights of Peking, including the Temple of Heaven, had been opened to the members of the Legations. By degrees however these privileges had been withdrawn except on special permission. The German Minister found, however, that even the special permit of the Yamên was insufficient to open the gates of the temple. Being desirous of taking some friends over the building, he applied in the usual way for permission, which after some difficulty was

accorded to him. But on reaching the temple gates he was met by a point-blank refusal on the part of the custodians to admit him. After a long discussion, the officials at length offered to allow the male portion of the party to enter, but peremptorily refused to admit the ladies. For this breach of diplomatic etiquette the Yamên eventually made an apology; but the incident, slight as it was in itself, was as one of the straws which showed which way the official wind was blowing.

At Chênkiang, on the Yangtsze, a riotous mob, acting, as it was said, on some of the absurd legends which are circulated against foreigners in troublous times, looted the foreign settlement and burnt the British Consulate to the ground. For these outrages heavy compensation was exacted from the Chinese officials, who in their turn extracted from the people within their jurisdiction the sum required of them. A less serious outbreak occurred about the same time at Hankow, where a similar process of rehabilitation was gone through; and an attack on the missionary establishments at Chênkiang suggested a fear that a general anti-foreign movement was imminent in the Yangtsze valley.

But the area of agitation extended beyond that district; and at Chinan-fu in Shantung missionaries were attacked and premises were destroyed in revenge, it was said, for the wrongs inflicted on Chinese colonists in America and Australasia. No doubt other considerations entered into the calculations of the rioters, but it was repeatedly and openly affirmed that many of the outrages committed were intended as a counterblast to the violence done to Chinamen abroad.

That these riots should have occurred at this juncture was particularly unfortunate. It was then that a large portion of the Empire was suffering from the effects of a great catastrophe. The Yellow River, that source of so many ills to China, had burst its banks and devastated many hundreds of square miles, bringing death and ruin on the populous districts which were

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submerged by the flood. A very rainy season added to the calamity; and large stretches of country bordering on the Yangtsze were laid under water. As is always the case among civilised States, the cry of misery which went up stirred into activity the charitable instincts of the Treaty Powers. At the open ports liberal subscriptions were raised to assist the sufferers; and in Europe also subscription lists were opened to aid in the good work. Prominent among those who took an active part in collecting funds was the Lord Mayor of London, who had the satisfaction of sending upwards of £30,000 to the Relief Committee at Shanghai. This charitable work made a deep impression on the Chinese, and found expression in the gift by the Emperor of a Button of rank to the chairman of the Relief Committee.

The good feeling thus shown did not, however, mitigate the opposition of the Chinese to the admission of steamers to the waters of the Upper Yangtsze. The Chinese are past-masters in the art of delay; and it was not till after months of procrastination at Peking, that the Tsungli Yamên deputed certain officials to meet at Ich'ang to draw up regulations for the navigation of junks and steamers, and to determine the rate of the compensations to be paid to native vessels in case of collision with the "fire-wheel" ships. This gave the mandarins an opportunity of renewing the tactics which had been so successfully employed at Peking; and so well did they take advantage of the opening afforded them, that before anything definite had been arrived at, the season of high waters had passed, and an enforced period of idleness of many months' duration was entailed on the owners of the *Kuling*, the steamer which had been fitted up for the pioneer voyage. Being unwilling to submit to this further expenditure, Mr Little, representing the steamer company, accepted the offer of the Chinese to buy the vessel; and thus the attempt suffered the same fate as that which befell the Shanghai and Wusung railway.

The main objection to this, as to other projects proposed by outer barbarians, was that it entailed the presence of foreigners in the interior of the country. China for the Chinese is not only the cry of the ordinary mandarin, but it is the principle which is upheld by such progressive statesmen as Chang Chihtung and others. In the following state paper presented to the throne by Chang, then (1889) Viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, this principle was fully maintained, at the same time that he showed himself as eager for the introduction of railways as any foreign syndicate.

"Railways," so runs this document, "which have contributed so much to the enrichment, prosperity and power of European countries within the last hundred years, are at present urgently needed in China to revive her languishing export trade. Recent statistics show a preponderance of imports over exports of Tls. 20,000,000 a year; and steps should immediately be taken to check the flow of money out of the country caused by this preponderance, by fostering the export of China's natural productions. Railways are also becoming more and more a necessity for purposes of defence, as powerful and envious neighbours close in nearer and nearer around the Middle Kingdom from year to year.

"With regard to the question of building one particular railway from Tientsin to T'ungchow, the censor Yü Lienyüan in his opposition to it seems to be moved by the fear of the spread of foreign religions, of the exposure of the capital to invasions, and of the employment of foreign men and materials to the detriment of native materials. But we have not found that the introduction of steamers and telegraphs has been followed by the spread of ideas subversive of morality. The censor's two other objections are much more serious. I believe, indeed, that the same prudence which made England veto the Channel Tunnel should make China veto the Tientsin-T'ungchow railway, unless she were prepared to spend over Tls. 1,000,000 in special defensive preparations. In the

memorandum of Kwei Jin, the censor, and his coadjutors, it is stated that the number of men employed in cart and boat traffic between Tientsin and T'ungchow is about 60,000; and, allowing to each a family of five, that makes a total of 300,000 persons depending on these trades for their daily rice. I think that this estimate is not excessive, and believe that at least half of them would be thrown out of employment by the introduction of this particular railway. To come to the number of men to whom employment would be given by the introduction of this railway, we find that England, with her 40,000 li. of rails, employs 165,000 railway-men. At this rate the Tientsin-T'ungchow line, with its 200 li. would only employ 800 men.

"A proposal has been made for a railway along the old bed of the Yellow River....But the drifting sand of this country would be a bad foundation, and repairs would be continually needed, causing a ruinous expense. The best plan for building the first great railway would be to start from Luk'ouch'iao, outside Peking, to Honan, and go on to Hankow in Hupeh, about 2000 li. This would be too far removed from the coast to cause apprehension of its being seized and utilised by an enemy; and it would not necessitate the removal of many houses or graves to allow it to pass....Iron quite good enough for the purpose could be obtained from the P'ingting mines in Shansi; and although this would cost more and be inferior to foreign iron, yet the employment of it would give the advantage of China's money being spent in China instead of abroad."

The objections which are set forth in this memorial against the Tientsin and T'ungchow railway were after some discussion overcome, mainly through the influence of Li Hung-chang and the Marquis Tsêng; and the line has now been completed some years. The suggestion thrown out by the Viceroy that a line should be built between the neighbourhood of Peking and Hankow—the Lu-Han railway—was regarded

as chimerical; but, as Chang Chihtung insisted on the practicability of the scheme, he was ordered, chiefly at the instigation of his political enemies, to exchange the viceroyalty of the two Kwang provinces for that of the two Hu provinces, with his residence at Hankow, the southern terminus of his projected line. But Chang was in earnest, and did not hesitate to accept the challenge of his foes. With his wonted energy he opened iron mines in the neighbourhood of Hankow, and erected the necessary furnaces for smelting the ore. All this took time, but eventually the work was begun; and at the present time considerable progress has been made with the line at both ends. So far as materials are concerned, Chang has done his utmost to act up to the principle set forth in his memorial. But when the question of funds arose he found that circumstances were stronger than theories, and the assistance of Belgian financiers had to be called in.

Another man holding the views of Chang was Hwang P'êng-nien, who was then (1889) Governor of Kiangsu. He frankly admitted that, when he held office in Peking, he "considered machinery, steamers, telegraphs, and railways as matters of secondary importance"; but said that, since he had been at Soochow, "and had himself seen the gigantic changes which were going on in the conditions of life, the conviction had been forced upon him that a judicious introduction of railways will be a benefit to China." Like all native supporters of these innovations, Hwang looked on railways mainly from a political point of view, and considered that a line should be made from Chên-kiang, on the Yangtsze, to T'ungchow, near Peking, "in order to secure the safe transport of grain and troops in case of war when the coast may be swept by an hostile fleet." But it is as a bulwark against Russia that he held railways to be most important. With a clear perception of the situation, which has since been fully justified, he recognised "that Russia overlaps us on the north, round the new Dominion, Mongolia, and Hei-lung kiang, and to the east round Kirin for 10,000 li.

Her left eye," he continued, "looks covetously at Korea, her right to Mongolia. She crouches ready to spring on our central land; and the three eastern provinces (of Manchuria) lie nearest to her extended claws. Her Siberian railway enables her to move troops eastward, in case of war, with a rapidity which is in striking contrast to our own slowness." He therefore maintained that "the first railways which China should build should be from Tientsin to Shanhaikwan, and then on to the Hei-lung kiang; another to Ninguta in Kirin; a third north-west from Shensi and Kansu to Ili in the north part of the new Dominion; and the fourth to Kashgar. We should then be able to send troops, money, etc. anywhere in our Empire." He was strongly opposed to giving foreigners any concessions in regard to the making or working of rail-roads for a term of years, and recommended that the money for the purchase of material should be spent as far as possible in China itself. In reply to these and other memorials an Imperial edict was issued, authorising the construction of the Lu-Han railway, and instructing Li Hungchang to begin at the Luk'ouch'iao end. It was by the northern portion of this railway that the Emperor and Dowager-Empress travelled in 1901, on their way back to Peking from their exile in Hsi-an Fu.

It will thus be seen that even among the most enlightened and progressive officials there was a rooted suspicion of foreigners, whose land-hunger they feared, and, as was proved a few years later, not without cause. It was the seizures of Port Arthur, Kiaochow, and Wei-hai-wei which blew into a flame the smouldering suspicion and mainly gave rise to the Boxer outbreak.

Already Russia had advanced a further parallel against the seclusion of Korea, the tributary of China; and by a treaty, signed on August 8, 1888, it was arranged that Russia should be allowed to trade at Kiong-hyng in addition to the ports of Chemulpo, Gensan, Fusan, and the towns of Seoul and Yano-

huatsin. At Kiong-hyng a Russian Consul, exercising full consular functions, was to reside; and the privileges of buying land at certain points and of travelling, whether for pleasure or for trading purposes, through the country were assured to them. This advancing policy of Russia, coupled with the warning given by Governor Hwang in the memorial quoted above, and the fresh impetus which was at this time (1890) given to the Siberian railway, prompted the Chinese government to undertake a survey for a line of railway through Manchuria, from Niuchwang to the Amur. Two English engineers were actually employed to survey the route; but with lamentable ineptitude the execution of the project was put off until a more convenient season. The Imperial government was short of funds; the inundations resulting from the overflowing of the Yellow River had taxed their resources to the utmost; and a hundred other reasons were adduced to show why the railway should not be constructed at once. But while the Chinese slept the Russians were active; and the determination then adopted that in ten years the Siberian railway should be finished from Moscow to Vladivostok has been literally fulfilled. A very similar result attended the proposal to strengthen and fortify the places of vantage in Manchuria. Arsenals were established at Kirin and elsewhere; and Krupp guns stood on the walls of the fortifications. But the arms turned out at the arsenals were neither so many nor so perfect as they should have been, and the Krupp guns were allowed to go to rack and ruin; so that when the Japanese marched through the land there was nothing to stop them. It was commonly reported at the time that Li Hungchang had been induced by the Russians to take a less alarmist view of the situation than that held by Chang and Hwang, and that it was due to his influence that the projected Manchurian railway was allowed to languish.

Had the Marquis Tsêng been alive, the fate of the railroad might have been different; but on April 12, 1890,

death removed him unexpectedly from the scene of his labours. He had lately incurred the wrath of the Dowager-Empress and the opposition of that lady's henchman, Li Hung-chang. The combination of these two potentates had a way of proving fatal to antagonists; and by a strange coincidence fate removed the Marquis, as we have seen (p. 251), just as his individuality was becoming obnoxious to the Empress and Li. By his death the Emperor lost a staunch supporter, and the Empire a genuine patriot.

It was under his guidance that the Emperor's studies took the direction of reform; and there can be no doubt that, had he lived, the course of events might have taken a line very different from that which it finally followed. During the troublous times when the Dowager-Empress ruled the destinies of the nation, several local boards or offices had been formed, some for supplying funds, others for purchasing munitions of war, others for transport services, and so on. These were all instituted as temporary measures to meet immediate emergencies. But, when the crises were over, the local officials, who had found that these offices served excellent opportunities for filling their pockets, declined to abolish them; and the Emperor, at Tsêng's instigation, issued a strongly-worded edict in which he ordered the provincial governments to do all in their power to abolish the useless posts. A new edition of this decree against the continuance of redundant offices was the final act which led to the Emperor's deposition in 1898 and to the subsequent attack on the Legations.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN CHINA.

In order fully to appreciate the length to which the agitation in favour of reform went, and the violent rebuff it met with in 1898, it is necessary to observe the forces which were at work, and were destined to bring about these conditions. As it was natural to expect, the first efforts of the people towards progress found expression in a desire for the more mechanical appliances of civilisation. These are the first things to strike the attention of the less civilised peoples. The big guns, the swift steamers, the repeating rifles, and railways are the most obvious of the outward and visible signs of a superior civilisation; and it is these that the less advanced nations desire first to acquire. That arch-opportunist, Li Hungchang, was one of the first prominent Chinese statesmen who saw that, if China is to remain independent, she must be strong in weapons of attack and defence; but he never succeeded in carrying out his projects. He was a born political schemer, and allowed intrigue to interfere with the best laid plans for his country's good.

Chang Chihtung, who had done more than any other official to advance reform, was a man of a very different kind. He is a true patriot so far as his knowledge goes; his hands are perfectly clean; and he spares neither time nor money in

promoting schemes for his country's welfare. As has already been seen, he was sent from Canton to Hankow in order that he might personally superintend the construction of the trunk line of railway between Hankow and Peking, which was in the first instance proposed by him. This transfer was brought about at the instigation of his enemies, who believed that he had undertaken an impossible task. They believed that he was such a man as themselves. But they were wrong. He took up his new post with a determination to justify his appointment. His first step was to engage the services of five foreign engineers to prospect in the neighbourhood for coal and iron, and to construct the machinery necessary for railway work. The search for the minerals required was successful; and there have since been erected in the neighbouring town of Hanyang a number of huge factories and workshops. The machinery employed in the works, which was purchased for the most part in England, consists of two large blast furnaces of the Cleveland type, with all their apparatus, appurtenances, and machinery, capable of producing about a hundred tons of pig-iron daily; a complete Bessemer plant, including two five-ton converters, with their cupolas, casting cranes, large blast-engines, etc.; while a small "Siemens-Martin" plant completes the steel works.

The extent of these preparations and the methodical way in which they were procured and set up speaks volumes for the ability and thoroughness of the great Viceroy, who had to contend at times with much senseless and unexpected opposition. It was necessary for the transport of the machinery from the ships, in which it arrived, to the shore, that certain bridges should be temporarily removed. The announcement of this necessity aroused the superstitious terrors of the people, who feared that the removal, even for a time, of these bridges would affect the genial atmospheric influences which they enclosed. As the Viceroy insisted on the bridges being removed, the people broke out into riot; and certain students of

Confucian lore declared that they would rather lead an insurrection than submit to the innovation. Chang's response was characteristic of the man. Finding that reasoning was useless he ordered up one of his new gunboats, and threatened to open fire in case of any disturbance. This was enough; the bridges were removed; and the machinery was landed and placed in position.

When Viceroy at Canton, Chang had erected at that place a steam cotton-mill, and offered to hand it over to his successor, Li Hanchang, the elder brother of Li Hungchang, when he was leaving for Hankow. Li, however, declined to make himself responsible for the foreign invention; and Chang carried the machinery with him to Hankow. Here he established a mill which, when in full working order, has no less than 20,000 spindles in operation. With persistent courage Chang has persevered in his good work in spite of many difficulties and some opposition, and was able to view the fruit of his labours in the railway which was destined in 1903 to carry him, in response to a summons from the Court, over a large portion of the distance which separates Hankow and Peking.

But though there were signs that the national mind was becoming alive to the importance of reform, there was much to dishearten the well-wishers of the country. Anti-foreign riots were frequent; and the complaisance of the officials, which had been noticeable after the wars of 1860 and 1884, was now exchanged for discourtesy, and in some cases for violence. At Chungk'ing in Szech'uan, at Hoihow and Kiungchow, the people attacked and destroyed mission premises; and at Tachuh in Szueh'uen they massacred the native Christians and looted their dwellings. In these circumstances the relations between the Chinese and foreigners became strained, and led in one instance to the retirement of an English officer from the Chinese service—a loss which, as events proved, left the Chinese fleet an easy prey to its enemies.

The position of foreigners in native employment has always

been difficult. We have seen how difficult it was for Gordon to maintain relations with Li Hungchang, and at the same time to keep up the efficiency of the Ever Victorious Army; and the same crux was presented to Admiral Lang when in command of the northern fleet. At the time spoken of (1890) the fleet had displayed its sea-going qualities by a successful cruise during which the ports of Saigon, Singapore, and Manila had been visited. Outwardly, to all appearance, matters were going smoothly; but for a long time Admiral Lang had had to contend with impertinences and insubordination which he was only able to combat with tact and decision. When in the harbour of Hongkong and during the temporary absence of the admiral, "the two senior Chinese captains of the squadron took upon themselves to haul down the admiral's flag without a word of explanation to Admiral Lang, and to hoist a junior's flag on another ship." On the case being reported by telegram to Li Hungchang, that official supported the action of the juniors; and, when at a subsequent interview the admiral explained how subversive of all discipline such conduct was, and what utter ruin would befall a fleet in war-time if juniors were allowed to supersede their admiral, Li made light of the matter, probably with the intention of driving the admiral to resign. If this were his desire, it was promptly accomplished; for Lang there and then resigned his commission in the Imperial navy; and the result of the battle off the Yalu river four years later was the consequence.

Although this hostile attitude towards foreigners was disquieting to observers, the process of opening up the country more and more to European commerce was steadily persevered in. It is true that Mr Little's fight for the right of navigating the upper waters of the Yangtsze had failed; but there remained the question of opening Chungk'ing to trade. On this point the Chinese yielded, and in 1890 a convention was signed regulating the traffic of the port. Article I ran thus: "Chungk'ing is opened as a treaty-port on the same

footing as other treaty-ports. British merchants conveying merchandise from Ich'ang to Chungk'ing or back shall either hire Chinese-built boats for that purpose or employ boats provided by themselves and built in Chinese style, as they may prefer." But the article to which most interest attached was Article V, in which it was laid down that "as soon as Chinese steamers shall convey cargo to Chungk'ing and back, British steamers may proceed to Chungk'ing on the same footing."

Probably the Tsungli Yamên signed this clause in the full conviction that as Chinese steamers would never traverse the 400 miles of rapids which separate Ich'ang from Chungk'ing, it was certain that no British steamer would ever desecrate the upper waters of the "Long" river by its presence on them. But events have proved them to have been mistaken. It is true that no Chinese steamer has traversed the troubled waters, yet British gunboats have on several occasions found their way up to Chungk'ing. So difficult, however, is the passage that, while the rapids are allowed to remain unimproved, it is not likely that foreign steamers will ever in any number attempt to thread the intricacies of the way. Repeated proposals have been made by foreigners to clear a passage, as might easily be done, by the use of dynamite; but the Chinese in their ignorance regard the rapids as so many lines of fortifications against the intrusion of the outer barbarians, and they have invariably declined to entertain such offers.

This desire to avoid as far as possible all diplomatic complications has, until the visit of Prince Henry of Germany, closed Peking against the visits of European royalties; and a visit paid by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught (1890) was, by the churlish attitude of the Peking authorities, of necessity confined to Hongkong, Shanghai, and some other treaty-ports. Notwithstanding this exhibition of international discourtesy, Queen Victoria recognised the 21st birthday of the Emperor by presenting him with a clock. No present could have been

more acceptable, as may be gathered from the immense number of timepieces which our troops found adorning the walls of the palace on the capture of the capital in 1900.

Another scion of a royal race visited China about this time, under even less happy auspices than the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. Prince Henry of Orleans, after making an adventurous journey across Mongolia and Tibet, reached the Chinese frontier in 1890. As there was some defect in the passports of himself and Mons. Bonvalot, with whom he travelled, the Chinese virtually placed the travellers under arrest, and eventually marched them on foot through Yunnan, finally putting them over the frontier into Tonquin.

For a considerable period the relations between foreigners, more especially foreign missionaries, and the Chinese had been the reverse of cordial; and it was particularly in the valley of the Yangtsze-kiang that this state of things was manifested. Placards and proclamations, holding up foreigners to contempt and opprobrium, were freely scattered abroad; and the usual charges of killing children and mutilating their remains for the discovery of medicaments were repeatedly brought up against them. For some time it had been obvious that these notices were printed and published by people of position and influence, who were beyond the reach of the law. The local mandarins, when called upon to repress their appearance, professed to be entirely ignorant of whence they came; and it was reserved to Mr Griffith John to run the chief culprit to earth.

This indefatigable missionary gathered evidence that they emanated from Changsha, the capital of the province of Hunan, a province which had earned for itself the reputation of being the most anti-foreign district in China. Pursuing his enquiries, he discovered that their authors were a small body of *literati*, headed by a wealthy scholar, named Chou Han. The publications issued by these men, which are directed entirely against missionaries, were not only violent but blasphemous. It

so happens that the term for "God" adopted by the Roman Catholics is *T'ienchu* or "Lord of Heaven," and that the syllable *chu*, "lord," when pronounced in another tone, signifies "a pig." In the hideous cartoons with which they disfigure their books and notices they, therefore, represent the Deity as a pig, and exhort the people to slaughter the noxious animal for the shambles. In the same way one expression for a foreigner in Chinese is *yang-jên*, literally "ocean men." But the syllable *yang* also stands for "a sheep," or "a goat," and so they represent foreigners as goats. According to these caricaturists these animals are worthy of every indignity, and to compass their death is described as a praiseworthy act of virtue. Both missionaries and their converts are credited with the grossest acts of immorality; and the mutilations which are said to be habitually practised on men, women, and children reduce us to the lowest plane of bestiality.

It may be urged that these lies are so plain and palpable that they could not impose for a moment on anyone. But as applied to the Chinese people, this does not hold good; and it is a fact, strange though it may seem, that they unfeignedly believe the incredible slanders which are levelled against us. The Roman Catholic orphanages, whose ardent proselytism exposes them specially to suspicion, have commonly served to rouse the people, who, surfeited with such falsehoods as Chou Han and his colleagues put into circulation, have risen to avenge the supposed wrongs of their countrymen. It was so in the Yangtsze valley in 1891. In May of that year rumours had been current that an attack was to be made on the Jesuit establishment at Wuhu, on the Yangtsze. No especial importance was attached to these rumours, as the mission had always enjoyed quite amicable relations with the natives. But in China the least spark will often ignite its surroundings with unexpected rapidity.

One Sunday evening two nuns went on a mission of mercy into the city, and, finding that the invalids in a certain house

were suffering from an infectious disease, carried off two children to save them from contagion. On their way through the streets a woman, who recognised the children, spoke to them and invited them to go back with her. The children, however, clung to the nuns; and the woman, angered at the sight, shrieked aloud that the nuns were carrying them off to make medicine of their eyes. The people rose at once, and dragged the nuns before the magistrate, who detained them for the night, but, at the request of the French consul, liberated them the following day. This, it was hoped, would be the end of the matter, but it proved otherwise. On the day after the release of the nuns, a woman came to the mission-house, and, in loud and angry tones, accused the missionaries of having stolen her child. In the carefully-prepared, excited state of the public mind this was enough to rouse the angry passions of the crowd, who made an organised attack on the mission premises. For a time the walls resisted the onslaught of the mob, but they eventually gave way; and the rioters rushed in yelling and hooting on their mission of destruction. Still further to anger the people, some graves in the compound were opened; and their horrible contents were exhumed and held up as proof positive of the truth of the charges brought against the missionaries. Happily the inhabitants of the mission premises escaped by a back-door and found safety on board a vessel in the river, from which place of security they were able to watch the destruction by fire of all that belonged to them on shore.

Having gutted the mission-house, the rioters proceeded to attack the customs premises. But here they met with an unexpected opposition. The customs officials had for some time formed a small rifle-corps, and, though their numbers were few, they were well-armed and possessed of abundant courage. Again and again they charged into the yelling crowds of the rioters, and eventually drove them off. Then and then only did the native officials bring any adequate force

to quell the riot, which from this moment dwindled into calm. The Taot'ai, or Intendant of Circuit, behaved badly throughout. He had warning of the intended rising, and took no steps to stop it, nor did he show any alacrity in bringing the criminals to justice. To add to his offences he issued a proclamation when the riot was over, in which, though he did not affirm positively that the charges brought against the missionaries were true, he yet implied that they might not be altogether baseless. "If you find," he wrote, addressing the people, "that these institutions kidnap or steal children, don't create any disturbance, but bring the matter before the proper authorities to be dealt with."

Fortunately no lives were lost at Wuhu; but at Wuhsueh, another and a more tragic story has to be told. There, as at Wuhu, the passions of the people were worked upon by stories connected with children. In this instance four natives set upon a man whom they found in possession of four young babies in a basket, whom he professed to be carrying to the Wesleyan mission-house. The captors haled the man before the magistrate, who, finding nothing against him, gave him his liberty. But the crowd which had collected took another view of the case, and rushed off yelling and shouting to the mission premises. Here they found only women and children, whom they treated shamefully, striking them with sticks and stones. Fortunately the sufferers were able to escape with their lives, and the mob then set fire to the buildings. The glare of the flames attracted the attention of Messrs Argent, a missionary, and Green, a customs-house official, who, being in ignorance of the cause, took it for granted that it was a casual fire, and ran to the rescue. As they neared the scene of the conflagration they came into collision with the mob, who with loud cries set upon them. Argent took refuge in a shop, and Green attempted to save his life by wading into a pond. But neither refuge gained them security. Argent was dragged out of the shop into the street, and was there beaten to death; while

Green, having been induced to come out of the water on the promise of his life, suffered a like fate.

With one exception the native officials behaved infamously. They took no measures to suppress the riot until it was too late; and one magistrate, when appealed to by the ladies to take them into his yamên, shut the door in their faces. One mandarin, to his honour be it said, did all that lay in his power to save the lives of the foreigners, and himself suffered injury at the hands of the mob in his attempts to protect them. By the irony of fate this man was the only one degraded by his superiors for his share in the disturbances. The iniquitous sentence was, however, formally reversed at the instigation of the British Minister; and this brave and disinterested official was restored to office.

But these were not the only scenes of disorder. At Nanking, Ngank'ing, Kiukiang, Wusieh, and Ich'ang, all towns on or near the Yangtsze-kiang, disturbances arose about the same time, all promoted in the same way and all ending in outrage and destruction of property. At Ich'ang an infant was handed in to the Roman Catholic girls' school, which proved to be a boy, and was clamorously demanded by a woman who professed to be its mother and declared that it had been stolen from her. In one form or another the belief that children were kidnapped by foreigners for infamous purposes was in each case made responsible for the riots.

It will be remembered that Mr Griffith John had discovered that Chou Han, a Taot'ai of Changsha in Hunan, was the *fons et origo mali*; and, when ultimately the culprits were called upon to answer for their misdeeds, an enquiry was set on foot with regard to this miscreant. It fell to the lot of Chang Chihtung, in his position as Viceroy, to proceed against him. But so powerfully was he protected that this was no easy matter; and the Viceroy sought refuge in the plea that his state of mind rendered him unaccountable for his actions. Witnesses were found to testify that Chou Han "had of late been subject

to a temporary illness which had an effect on his brain. He talked nonsense and had spiritualistic fancies, being a great believer in divination by the *planchette*."

The Tsungli Yamên, prompted by the British Minister, were not, however, inclined to accept the plea of insanity to the full extent, and decreed that, "although Chou Han has not issued placards or forged official documents"—crimes of which he stood charged—"still he, an official in the government service, by his wild language and insane conduct has enabled ill-disposed persons to make use of his name to excite the public by fabricated stories. He, therefore, cannot be held guiltless. Let expectant Taot'ai Chou Han be cashiered forthwith. Let him further be compelled to return to his house and be kept under the strict supervision of the local authorities."

This lame and impotent conclusion was far from meeting the exigencies of the case. The placards and books published by this man and his colleagues continued to be distributed broadcast; and from the notice on the cover of one of the most infamous publications, entitled "Death to the Devils' religion," it appears that "the cost of the book was 60,000 cash per 10,000 copies, and that eight men printed at their own expense, and gave away gratis, from 100,000 copies to 800,000 copies each." While this propaganda was allowed to go on unchecked, it was impossible that peace could be established; and the vacillating and disingenuous manner in which the officials of the Tsungli Yamên behaved indicated only too plainly that their sympathies were with Chou Han and his friends. So marked was this feeling that in a strongly-worded joint note, addressed to the Tsungli Yamên, the foreign representatives put it on record that "no faith can be put in the assurances of the Chinese government."

But the influence of the anti-foreign placards extended far beyond the limits of the Yangtsze valley. They disturbed public feeling in parts so widely separated as Canton and Shensi, and even as far north as Kirin, where a disgraceful

outrage was committed on a medical missionary named Grey. On one occasion this missionary was returning from one of his monthly visits of mercy to the city. In the ordinary course he had put up at a wayside inn for the night, when, having retired to bed, he was awakened by the grip of a strong hand on his throat. After grossly ill-using him, his assailants bound him hands and feet and lashed him to a post in the room. Thus suspended solely by his arms he suffered excruciating torture, and was happily relieved for the time from further pain by a fainting fit. For four hours the miscreants plied him with every form of ill-usage and finally left him to recover as best he might. After one or two unsuccessful attempts he contrived to communicate with his friends. But instead of allowing him to proceed to them his persecutors carried him back to Kirin, whence he was subsequently removed at the instigation of the British Consul at Niuchwang.

Some measure of compensation was made in this instance; and, in consequence of pressure applied by the foreign representative at Peking, some action was forced on the Chinese government in connexion with the riots on the Yangtsze. The Taot'ai at Wuhu was dismissed; some minor officials at Wuhsueh were degraded; two of the principal rioters were beheaded; and punishment was inflicted on some more of the people who were implicated in the riots. Forty thousand dollars were divided between the families of the two murdered men, Messrs Green and Argent; and twenty-five thousand dollars were paid as recompense for the damage done to the mission premises. But from first to last the task of extracting justice for the crimes committed was difficult; and the difficulty was still further intensified by the action of the Chinese Minister in London, who with oriental plausibility assured Lord Salisbury that his government was acting with vigour and despatch, and was only hampered by the course pursued by the British representative at Peking, who complained so much of what he considered to be the dilatoriness of the Tsungli Yamên that he aggravated the position.

Eventually however the atmosphere was cleared for the time being; and an edict was issued which called upon all viceroys and governors to protect foreigners within their jurisdictions, and to inculcate tolerance for the Christian religion, the tenets of which were in the Emperor's opinion consonant with love, mercy, and peace. Hopes were aroused that better days were in store for foreigners when it became known that the Emperor was studying English; and, had he been left the right of unfettered action, the future would have been very different from what it proved to be. But the ink with which this edict was written was scarcely dry when news was brought of further outrages committed on foreigners in different parts of the Empire. In the province of Fuhkien--always an explosive neighbourhood—an attack, preceded by the usual libellous rumours, was made on a missionary dispensary, from which the missionary and his wife had barely time to make their escape when the mob burst in in search of their prey. In Szech'uan a similar outrage was committed on Mr and Mrs Polhill Turner, who were seized and ill-treated by the mob, and ultimately dragged before the magistrate. At this moment a long drought was bringing distress and starvation in its train. With the stupid ignorance common among the lower classes in China, the people associated the presence of foreigners amongst them with the want of rain. In their mad fury they demanded the lives of their prisoners; but the magistrate, taking a less sanguinary view of the case, contented himself with sentencing them to be flogged. At the announcement of this penalty two native Christians came forward and offered themselves as vicarious victims of the rod. The magistrate, doubtless glad to be able to avoid flogging foreigners, one of them a lady, accepted the compromise, and sent Mr and Mrs Turner safely out of the neighbourhood. In Hupeh and Shensi assaults were made on Roman Catholic missionaries, happily without any serious results, but all tending to prove the anti-foreign trend of public opinion. In none of these instances can blame

be said to have rested on the sufferers, though doubtless at times missionaries and others commit indiscretions which partly excuse the fury of their persecutors. Some scandal was excited, about this time, by a missionary sending his wife, in charge of nine young ladies who had just arrived from Europe, in a junk up the Yangtsze attended only by natives. The idea of ladies travelling alone is abhorrent to the Chinese; and in this case the offence was aggravated by the fact that the ladies were nearly all young and inexperienced, and were necessarily crowded together with natives whose character was an unknown quantity. Such cases of indiscretion are unfortunately not uncommon.

For some years a somewhat embittered rivalry for the control of the telegraphic system between China and Europe had existed between the "Great Northern Telegraph Company," a Danish association, and the British "Eastern Extension Telegraph Company." Each wished to obtain a monopoly; and the public were interested in opposing the passing of the control of the line into the hands of either. At the same time Russia had been constantly urging China to enter into an agreement with her for the transfer of messages along the telegraph wires of the two countries. Count Cassini, who has become notorious as the author of the mysterious "Cassini Convention," was at this time (August, 1892), Russian Minister at Peking; and he took the opportunity of persuading the Chinese government of the advisability of the two Empires arriving at a *modus operandi* on the subject. His words fell on attentive ears; and the result was an agreement by which the Chinese line, as far as the Russian frontier, was to be connected with the Russian line from that point to Europe. By the terms of this treaty, which was to remain in force for ten years, the lines within the territories of either Power were to be exclusive property; and each Power was to have the right, at the expiration of the treaty, to charge any rate of fees that it might consider desirable. Meanwhile Russia was to

receive for each word telegraphed between Russia and China 2 fr. 75 c., while China was to receive two francs for the same service to and from the Russian frontier.

This agreement was received with a storm of protests by the mercantile communities and the foreign press in China, which saw their interests ignored and the practical monopoly of the land lines to Europe secured by the two Powers. As to the object which China meant to serve by the arrangement it is difficult to speak positively, but it looks much as though the Chinese negotiators had some private end to serve in so readily concluding it.

Following the example of Russia, the British government entered into an agreement with China (September, 1894) to connect the lines of telegraphs of the two countries at the Burma frontier, an arrangement which has not, as yet, added much to the wealth of the world.

Matters were beginning to settle down quietly after the riots on the Yangtsze when the Chinese received a just cause of offence at the hands of the United States of America. Already every possible impediment had been put in the way of intending Chinese immigrants into the States; and in 1892 the popular prejudice against natives of China invading the land of the Stars and Stripes found fresh and drastic expression in an Act known as the Geary Exclusion Act. By this instrument the admittance into the United States of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent was strictly prohibited. When the provisions of this Act were made known to the Ministers of the Tsungli Yamên they protested against them, as forming a breach in the comity of nations, and urged with reason that the Americans had no right to force China to receive their fellow-citizens while they refused to allow a native of China to set foot on the soil of America. The feeling was so strong in China, and even in the States, against the enforcement of the Act that it was allowed to remain a dead letter. At the time of its passing there were 106,688 persons of the Chinese race in

the United States, 85,000 of whom would have been liable to be deported if the Act had been carried out in its entirety. These could not be driven into the sea; and the expense of transporting them to Hongkong would have been, at least, $6,000,000. But apart from these monetary considerations the Act was felt to be of so unreasonable a nature that the best thing was to ignore its provisions. The very passing of it, however, made a deep impression on the Chinese hierarchy, who recognised to the full that an attempt had been made to impose an injustice on their countrymen.

This episode did not smooth the relations between China and the foreign Powers, and may have had something to do with the obstructive and callous discourtesy with which the Chinese treated the remonstrances of the foreign representatives on the subject of a peculiarly brutal outrage which was committed in the neighbourhood of Hankow at this time (July, 1893). Two Swedish missionaries, in pursuit of their calling, had settled at a town of some 20,000 inhabitants, named Sungpu, and had hired a native house with the object of making it the headquarters of their mission. They had chosen the place on account of the peaceable nature of the inhabitants; and for a time their residence there was marked by an increasing friendship and good-fellowship. Later, however, they became conscious of a hostile feeling growing up among the people. The landlord who had let them their house was imprisoned and flogged; and his release at the request of the missionaries aroused much angry criticism. Shortly afterwards they were warned that on the occasion of a local feast and procession on a certain day their blood would be mingled with the sacrifices. Believing this to be a mere threat they remained at their post. But events proved that their confidence was misplaced. On the day appointed an angry mob collected outside the house and finally attacked it with great fury. Recognising the position, the missionaries escaped into the house of their landlord next door and concealed themselves in

a loft. The mob, not finding them, destroyed the mission premises and then made an attack on the adjoining building. Finding concealment no longer possible the missionaries made their way on to the roof of the house. The mob, thirsting for their blood, no sooner saw them than some of the rioters pursued the fugitives along the roofs with iron spears, while others pelted them with stones and tiles. Driven from roof to roof by their pursuers the missionaries at last jumped down into the street and were instantly stoned and battered to death. Not content with this murder, the mob "battered in their skulls, stripped every rag of clothing off them, and in mere wanton wickedness inflicted nameless barbarities on their now dead and senseless bodies." After thus satisfying their brutal instincts they turned their attention to the native Christians, most of whom, however, had fortunately escaped. Those who remained were beaten and ill-treated.

The news of this outrage created a deep impression on foreign residents in China, as well as on all civilised communities. Within two years four Europeans had been murdered in the province of Hupeh; and it was felt generally that, unless some strong action was taken, the lives of foreigners would lose the slight hold on security which they had up to that time possessed. Indignation meetings were held at Shanghai and elsewhere; and a strong remonstrance was drawn up by the consular body at Hankow, and addressed to the *doyen* of the foreign representatives at Peking, urging him to use the conjoint weight of himself and his colleagues to compel the Ministers of the Tsungli Yamên to take the necessary steps for the punishment of the offenders, and for the compensation of the relatives of the murdered men.

In reply Mr Denby, the *doyen* of the diplomatic body, stated that he and his colleagues had demanded of the Chinese government "the exemplary punishment of all the officials, high and low, who failed to obey the Imperial edict of June 13, 1891, and who by their culpable negligence permitted this atrocious crime to be committed; and the just and

severe punishment of the ringleaders of the mob and of those who organised it, though they did not actively participate in it." These were high-sounding words; but the matter was practically taken out of the hands of the diplomatists by Mr Bock, the Swedish Consul-General, who visited Hankow and agreed to accept as final the payment of $40,000 as compensation for the death of the murdered missionaries, and the punishment of the actual murderers. This compromise was very generally condemned, as it was recognised that the officials in the neighbourhood, if not actual aiders and abettors of the crime, were at all events culpably inactive, and by their inaction had contributed to the commission of the outrage. The Chinese authorities have too often been allowed to escape the consequences of their misdeeds, and in this instance they were certainly very inadequately punished.

The acquisition of Burma by the British Crown and the advances made by France in the direction of Siam and the Shan States had made it advisable to delimit the frontiers which divided the possessions of those two countries from the southern provinces of China. In 1893 a correspondence on the subject passed between Lord Dufferin and Mons. Jules Develle, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the course of which it was agreed that, as they had not sufficient data before them, they should postpone legislation until a commission, which it was proposed to send out to the spot, should have reported on the subject. At the same time it was agreed that a neutral zone should be established between the territories belonging to the two countries; and it was apparently understood that the state of Kiang Hung should form this neutral belt. In the subsequent convention this understanding was formally adopted in agreement with China, which, in the British Convention of March 1, 1894, signed a covenant that "His Majesty the Emperor of China shall not, without previously coming to an agreement with Her Britannic Majesty, cede either Munglem or Kiang Hung, or any portion thereof, to any other nation."

The Chinese have only a very vague notion of the sacredness of treaties. As a rule they sign them because they are compelled to do so, and having signed them they do their best to whittle down the obligations they have accepted, and are inclined to ignore all clauses in which they are not particularly interested. Kiang Hung was by the agreement of England and France virtually lost to them, and they had a very small concern in its future destiny. When, therefore, France was negotiating with China a Frontier Convention in 1895, and expressed a desire for the territory which she had bound herself to regard as neutral, she found China by no means strongly averse to hand over a part of it. The convention signed by M. Gérard on June 30, 1895, violated the understanding between Great Britain, France, and China, and savoured strongly of sharp practice. On its publication Sir Claude MacDonald expostulated strongly with the Ministers of the Tsungli Yamên, and at first was disposed to insist on the article being abrogated. But subsequently other counsels prevailed, and it was arranged that "in consideration of the government of Great Britain consenting to desist from their objections to the alienation by China, in virtue of the convention with France of June 30, 1895, of the territory forming a part of Kiang Hung, in contravention of the clauses of the convention between Great Britain and China of March 1, 1894, it has been agreed between the governments of Great Britain and China that the following additions and changes shall be made in this latest convention." The convention then goes on to specify the additions and changes agreed upon, the main result of which was that the district of Ko-Kang and a part of Wang Ting, that is to say, a territory of about 96 kilometres in length and 40 at its greatest width, with three other small slices of territory, was ceded to Great Britain. So England was not by any means a loser in the end. But the episode was instructive as showing how little China regards treaties, and how unscrupulously some diplomatists use their influence to induce her to break them.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

For some years Korea had been displaying a political activity which boded ill for the peace of the two Empires which disputed its control. It will be remembered that a conspiracy broke out at Seoul on December 2, 1884, which was quelled with difficulty by the joint action of China and Japan, and that the chief conspirator, Kim-ok Kiun, had found an asylum at Tōkiō. Shortly afterwards, at foreign instigation, the King expressed a desire to send envoys to the different European Courts in virtue of his position as the head of a treaty-making State. The Emperor of China, to whom he at first appealed, did not absolutely prohibit the innovation, but desired to surround the privilege with such forms and ceremonies as to proclaim his supremacy over the state of Korea. The King was not to be allowed to despatch an envoy until he had notified his wish to do so, and had received permission from Peking. On arriving at the foreign capital the envoy was to report himself to the resident Chinese Minister, who was to introduce him to the sovereign. This attempt to keep Korea in leading-strings only delayed the adoption of the King's proposal. One envoy only started from Korean shores under these regulations, but he did not get any further than Hongkong, where he was met by a telegraphic message ordering him to return to his royal master.

The Convention of 1885 (see p. 247) secured peace for some years; but in 1894 Korean affairs were again brought before the world by a startling tragedy. Although in his retreat at Tōkiō Kim-ok Kiun was for the time being safe, the intention of the King of Korea to bring him to justice, if only rough and ready, had never wavered. Emissaries were, therefore, sent over to Tōkiō with instructions to decoy Kim-ok Kiun on to Chinese soil, where his life would be within reach of an assassin's weapon. In this they succeeded. On March 27 four men dressed in European clothes and describing themselves as Japanese landed at Shanghai and installed themselves in a Japanese hotel in the foreign settlement. On the following day one of their number retired to his room to rest, when a companion who had given the name of Hung entered and fired three shots from a revolver at the prostrate man, who was killed on the spot. An enquiry elicited the facts that the murdered man was no other than Kim-ok Kiun, and that his murderer was one of the assassins sent over to Japan to compass the death of the exile.

By treaty it is arranged that Koreans committing any offence on Chinese territory are to be sent to their native land to be dealt with. In accordance with this law Hung and the body of his victim were shipped off to Korea, where the reception they met with explained the tragedy. The coffin containing the body of Kim-ok Kiun was covered with a pall, on which was inscribed the legend "Ok Kiun, arch-rebel and heretic." On arriving at the capital his remains were quartered by the public executioner, while his murderer Hung was carried in triumph to the palace of his King, where many honours were showered upon him.

But, though Kim-ok Kiun was thus murdered and disgraced, his memory yet lived in the minds of the Tong Haks, the rebel faction which was most in evidence at the time, and which was beginning to assume threatening proportions. In several engagements with the government troops the Tong Haks had been

victorious, a circumstance which they openly attributed to the ghost of Kim-ok Kiun, which wearing a white helmet and cuirass was said to march at the head of the rebel ranks. So alarmed did the government become at these defeats that it invoked the aid of China to quell the rebellion, believing that Japan was at this time so immersed in internal affairs that she would not be able to interfere, as by treaty she was entitled to do. In response to the King's request 2000 Chinese soldiers were despatched to the peninsula; and at the same time intimation of the movement of this force was given to Japan. But the communication was made in a very perfunctory manner; and the expression "tributary State" was applied to Korea, an assumption of suzerainty which Japan resented in words.

Fortunately the arrival of these foreign troops was enough to put an end to the Tong Hak rebellion; and in accordance with the Li-Ito Treaty the two foreign Powers prepared to withdraw their troops. But as a precautionary measure, and one which was intended to prevent further disturbances, Japan proposed a series of reforms which she invited China to join with her in urging on the King. These proposals consisted of (1) reform in central and provincial governments, and the appointment of able officials; (2) methods to increase national wealth by financial reorganisation; (3) the reorganisation of the law and law-courts; (4) the reorganisation of the army and police so as to suppress internal rebellion and to maintain peace; (5) the reform of the educational system.

All these proposals were in themselves unexceptional. But China would have none of them, and haughtily reminded Japan that Korea, having now, with the consent of the Peking government, assumed the position of a treaty-making State, should be left to carry out her own reforms in her own way. Upon this Japan secured the appointment of a special commission to arrange for the carrying out of the various changes proposed. So far Korea yielded to the Japanese demands,

but no further would she go; and she was backed by China in her recalcitrant attitude. Affairs were thus at a deadlock. The troops of China and Japan faced each other, while Korea adopting a *non possumus* attitude did nothing.

Up to this point Japan had shown a conciliatory disposition, and, even when China requested that she would not send any more men-of-war to the treaty-ports of the Middle Kingdom, she yielded assent. Finding her thus pacific the King of Korea requested that she would withdraw her troops, more especially from the capital, on the plea that their presence disturbed the minds of the people. In response Otori, the Japanese Minister at the Court of Korea, presented an ultimatum, in which he demanded that the King should, in accordance with the Treaty of 1885, build barracks for the Japanese escort, and added that the presence of Chinese soldiers whose leaders had publicly proclaimed their object to be that of protecting a dependent State was incompatible with the independence of that kingdom. Three days were given to the King for final assurances on these subjects; and it was declared that, if within that time such assurances were not forthcoming, Japan would carry out the proposed reforms by force. On the night before the expiration of the allotted time an answer was received to the effect that the Chinese troops had come at the King's request, and would not leave until similarly invited to do so. The Japanese at once took steps to carry out their programme. On July 23, 1894, the day after the receipt of the King's reply, a Japanese force surrounded the palace, dispersed the Korean guard, and took possession of the King's person.

The Japanese thus became the virtual rulers of the kingdom; and it is easily to be understood how a request reached them from the King that they should drive the Chinese intruders out of Asan, where these last had established themselves. Meanwhile both Empires were preparing to pour troops into the country. On July 21 several transports carrying 8000 men sailed from Taku for the Yalu river, forming the northern

frontier of Korea, and for Asan on the south-western coast of the peninsula. Of these movements the Japanese had become aware, and in order to prevent the landing of the force they despatched three men-of-war to watch the coast. On the morning of July 25 the Japanese ships sighted two Chinese men-of-war, which on approaching cleared for action. This prompt proceeding surprised the Japanese commanders, who were unaware of the events which had taken place at Seoul within the last few days; and, as war had not been proclaimed, they were unprepared for the hostile attitude assumed. They however followed suit, and when the Chinese ships opened fire they returned the attack so fiercely that within an hour one of the Chinese vessels was so crippled that she was obliged to run into shallow water, while the other riddled with shot steamed off to Wei-hai-wei.

At the close of the action two other Chinese vessels, one a man-of-war and the other a hired transport, the *Kowshing*, hove in sight. The man-of-war was easily captured, and the *Kowshing* was signalled to halt. A boat was sent from the Japanese vessels to the *Kowshing*, and she was ordered to follow the Japanese ships to a Japanese harbour. This command the Chinese soldiers on board would not allow the captain to obey; nor would they let him and the other officers leave the ship as they were subsequently told to do. After due warning had been given, and as the troops continued to prove insubordinate, the Japanese opened fire. The scene which followed baffles description. The European officers leapt into the sea and several were drowned, while the Chinese soldiers, wild with terror, fired indiscriminately on the Japanese and one another. In a few minutes the *Kowshing* blew up and sank, carrying with her over 1000 souls. As to the morality of this action opinions will differ. The *Kowshing* was a British ship, but no compensation has ever been paid.

This victory represented a substantial gain to the Japanese, who at once prepared to attack the Chinese forces at Asan.

The officer in command at this port was General Yeh, whose one idea of generalship was so to act as to preserve his own life. On the approach of the Japanese, therefore, he performed a strategic movement by which he carried off the greater part of his army northwards to the strong position of Ping-yang, leaving only a rear-guard to protect the fortifications and stores. The position at Asan was naturally so strong that, though only feebly defended, the Japanese had some difficulty in making themselves masters of it. This they did, however, and leaving a sufficient garrison in occupation the remainder pushed on northwards after the fugitive Yeh.

Events had occurred so rapidly that neither side had up to this time issued a declaration of war. Now they did so; and it is interesting to observe the different tones adopted by the two Powers. The Japanese document is carefully worded and moderate in tone. It narrates plainly the course of events which had led to the breach of the peace, and calls upon all Japanese loyally to support the Mikado in his righteous cause. The Chinese declaration is of an opposite character. It begins by assuming that Korea is still tributary to the Middle Kingdom, and misrepresents the action of the Japanese in their relations with the peninsula. It invariably uses the opprobrious term of "Wo jên," or "Dwarfs," when speaking of the Japanese, and throughout assumes a haughty attitude in the controversy, proclaiming that Japan has violated the treaties, and has "run rampant with her false and treacherous actions," while China has "always followed the paths of philanthropy and perfect justice throughout the whole complications."

Their ideas of civilised warfare can be gauged by the fact that they offered rewards for the heads of the Japanese, and for the destruction of their ships. For two months after the publication of these declarations of war there was no fighting. The Japanese, however, were busy pouring troops into Korea; and even the Chinese managed to reinforce their armies on

the Yalu and at Ping-yang. With the exception of naval reconnaissances off Port Arthur and Weihaiwei, not a gun was fired; and it was not until September 15 that the armies crossed swords. In the north-western portion of the peninsula stands the important city of Ping-yang, which, both by nature and art, forms a military position of great strength. It was to this place that General Yeh fled when defeated at Asan, and it was there that he was joined by two other *corps d'armée* under the commands of Generals Ma and Tao respectively. Tao was the only one of the three generals who had any grasp of the situation; and to him alone is due the strengthening of the position in preparation for the attack. The Japanese advanced to the assault in three columns, one from the south, one from the west, and one from the east. The attack was fixed for the 15th of September; and the day before that date the three armies were in position. Early on the following morning the Japanese began the assault, and from the nature of the defences made, at first, but slow progress. But with the dash and persistency which belong to their character they at length broke down the stubborn opposition of the Chinese, who towards evening took to flight, leaving the city by the northern gates. General Tao had already been killed at the head of his men. Unhappily for the now broken Chinese troops, the passes to the north of the city had, earlier in the day, been occupied by the Japanese, who opened a terrific fire upon the flying celestials, 1500 of whom were found dead in the passes in the morning. "The spoils captured by the Japanese were of every possible kind; 35 good guns, over 500 magazine-rifles, 500 breech-loaders, an immense quantity of ammunition for cannon and rifles, tents, horses, money, and an endless variety of sundries, such as drums, trumpets, carts, etc."

This great battle decided the fate of Korea. In a few days from Sept. 15 not a Chinese soldier was to be found on Korean soil, so that in three months Japan had made a

complete conquest of the peninsula. Already she had made an offensive and defensive alliance with the King, who was forced to proclaim to his subjects that the Japanese were his allies and were to be treated in every way as friends. That the friendship thus expressed by the King's government was absolutely sincere may well be doubted; for at the taking of Ping-yang, among the correspondence captured, were found letters from the King's father, addressed to the Chinese authorities, beseeching them to relieve Korea from the yoke of the Japanese bondage.

Two days after the capture of Ping-yang, a fierce naval encounter took place off the mouth of the Yalu. Both the Chinese and the Japanese had been landing troops and were about to return to port for further shiploads, when the two fleets sighted each other near the island of Hai-yang. Each fleet consisted of twelve ships; and, though the Chinese vessels lacked the speed of the fastest Japanese steamers, their pace was more uniform and therefore more effective. The Chinese formed up into line with the heaviest ships in the centre, while the Japanese, avoiding a direct attack, steamed round the flanks of the enemy and played havoc with their lighter vessels. Both sides fought with great determination, the courage of the Chinese on board the flagship being kept up by Von Hanneken, who, having escaped from the *Kowshing* disaster, was able to give his valuable help to the Chinese admiral. The battle lasted three hours; at the end of which time the few surviving Chinese ships succeeded in making good their escape.

The losses of the Chinese in this engagement were very heavy. Four vessels, the *Yang-wei*, *Chaoyung*, *Kingyuen*, and *Chihyuen*, were sunk, while another vessel ran aground, and was blown up by her crew. The Japanese, on the other hand, did not lose any vessels, though two, the *Matsushima* and the *Hiyei*, were badly damaged. The Chinese loss in men was considerable; many hundred men were lost in the sunken vessels or

killed in the fight. The Japanese lost 115 killed and 103 wounded.

The way for an advance northward having now been made plain before them, the Japanese, after leaving a garrison in Ping-yang, marched onward to the Yalu river, which, as has been said, forms the boundary between Manchuria and Korea. The Chinese had deserted Korea with such alacrity that the Japanese marched unmolested as far as the frontier. Here they were met by the difficulties of crossing a broad and swift river, and of effecting a landing on the northern bank in the face of strong and well-armed fortifications. But here as at other places the Chinese showed a strange inaptitude for war. They expected that the Japanese would attempt to cross the river at the point where the road struck it, and they were quite unprepared when a detachment of the army crossed higher up the stream and established themselves on the northern bank. After making a faint show of resistance they retreated to the strong city of Chiulien-ch'êng, where they were followed by the Japanese, who, when they marched to the attack, were surprised to find that the enemy had evacuated the stronghold during the preceding night.

This was the course generally followed. The Chinese retreated in succession to Antung, Fênghwangch'êng, and Hsiuyen, all places of importance, and strongly fortified, and, in each case, at the approach of the enemy took to flight. The Japanese noticed that they liked to keep a safe distance between themselves and their foes. This successful campaign accomplished all that it was intended to do. It put an end, once and for all, to any fear of the Chinese being again able to march southward into Korea; and the Japanese advance was therefore stayed.

Meanwhile the siege of Port Arthur had begun. The Japanese landed at Hwayuenk'ow, on the Liaotung peninsula, and, marching southward, captured the city of Kinchow and advanced on Talienwan, which the Chinese, as usual, deserted

at their approach. It was well known that Port Arthur was the strongest port in Eastern Asia. Millions of pounds sterling had been expended upon it; and the fortifications were as strong as well-skilled French engineers had been able to make them. "Around the oval harbour, divided into two basins, there was an almost continuous chain of forts," and from every hill top frowned the gloomy lines of earthworks. The task before the Japanese was one of great difficulty, and, if they had been confronted by foemen worthy of their steel, it might almost have been an impossible one. On November 21 the Japanese advanced to the attack, and, though they at first met with some resistance, they had no sooner taken two or three of the outer forts than the Chinese, terrified by the approaching danger, deserted the remaining fortified lines, and, making a *détour* to avoid the enemy, fled northwards. As the wretched fugitives hurried along the coast they were shelled by the ships of the Japanese fleet, and suffered severely. Thus with only a slight loss Port Arthur fell into the hands of the Japanese, who, looking round on the forts and armaments, reckoned that they were the richer that day by at least six millions sterling. The peninsula was divided into administrative districts, which were governed by Japanese officials.

The loss of Port Arthur was a great blow to the Chinese cause. Vast sums had been expended on making it strong, until in the eyes of the mandarins it was regarded as impregnable; and it was felt that, if the Japanese could make themselves masters of it, there was nothing that could resist them. This view was held strongly by Li Hungchang, who knew better than any of his compeers the inherent weakness of the Chinese army. So strongly was he impressed in this sense that he memorialised the throne, begging that overtures of peace should be proposed. To this the Emperor consented; and Li was commissioned to arrange for the despatch of an embassy. But with that supercilious folly which seems to be ingrained in the characters of Chinese officials, Li ignored the

obvious policy of appointing a fully-accredited plenipotentiary, and nominated a Mr Detring, the Commissioner of Customs at Tientsin, and one or two other irresponsible Europeans, to carry to Japan, not the letters of credit of an ambassador, but a despatch from Li addressed to Count Ito. The Japanese government naturally refused to have anything to say to so informal an envoy, and sent Mr Detring back to Tientsin.

Meanwhile the war was not allowed to languish. In Manchuria the Japanese armies marched through the country, meeting with little serious opposition, and took possession of Yingkow, the port of Niuchwang. But it was recognised that so long as the Chinese held the stronghold of Weihaiwei, on the Shantung coast, the Japanese position was one not free from danger. It was determined, therefore, to attack this port. To this end the Japanese landed a force to the westward of Wei-hai-wei, whilst their fleet guarded the entrance of the harbour so that it was impossible for the Chinese ships anchored therein to escape. The position was held by a large force under Admiral Ting, a man who at the battle of the Yalu had proved himself to be a brave and competent commander. But it was more than he could do to impart courage to the men under him; and, though these held an overwhelming advantage over the attack, they offered a very half-hearted opposition to the Japanese, who in a few hours made themselves masters of such of the forts as enabled them to secure the fourteen forts which surrounded the harbour. At the same time the fleet had been active, and, by sending in torpedo boats at night, succeeded in sinking the *Ting-yuen*, *Lai-yuen*, *Wei-yuen*, *Ching-yuen*, and the *Tao-hwa*. At the outset of the siege Admiral Ito had written to Ting, telling him that his cause was hopeless, and advising him to capitulate. This Ting refused to do, and declined the present of champagne and other trifles which accompanied the letter. When, however, the enemy had virtually captured the position, Ting capitulated, at the same time begging for the lives

of his men. Having done this he committed suicide, an example which was followed by the two or three officers who were next in command (February, 1895).

This exploit brought the war to a close. But before Weihaiwei had fallen, Li Hungchang persuaded his Imperial master to make a further effort in the cause of peace. This time two Chinese officials, with a large retinue, but of no high official rank, were sent to treat for peace. When, however, their credentials were examined they were found to be quite insufficient; and they in their turn followed Mr Detring back to China.

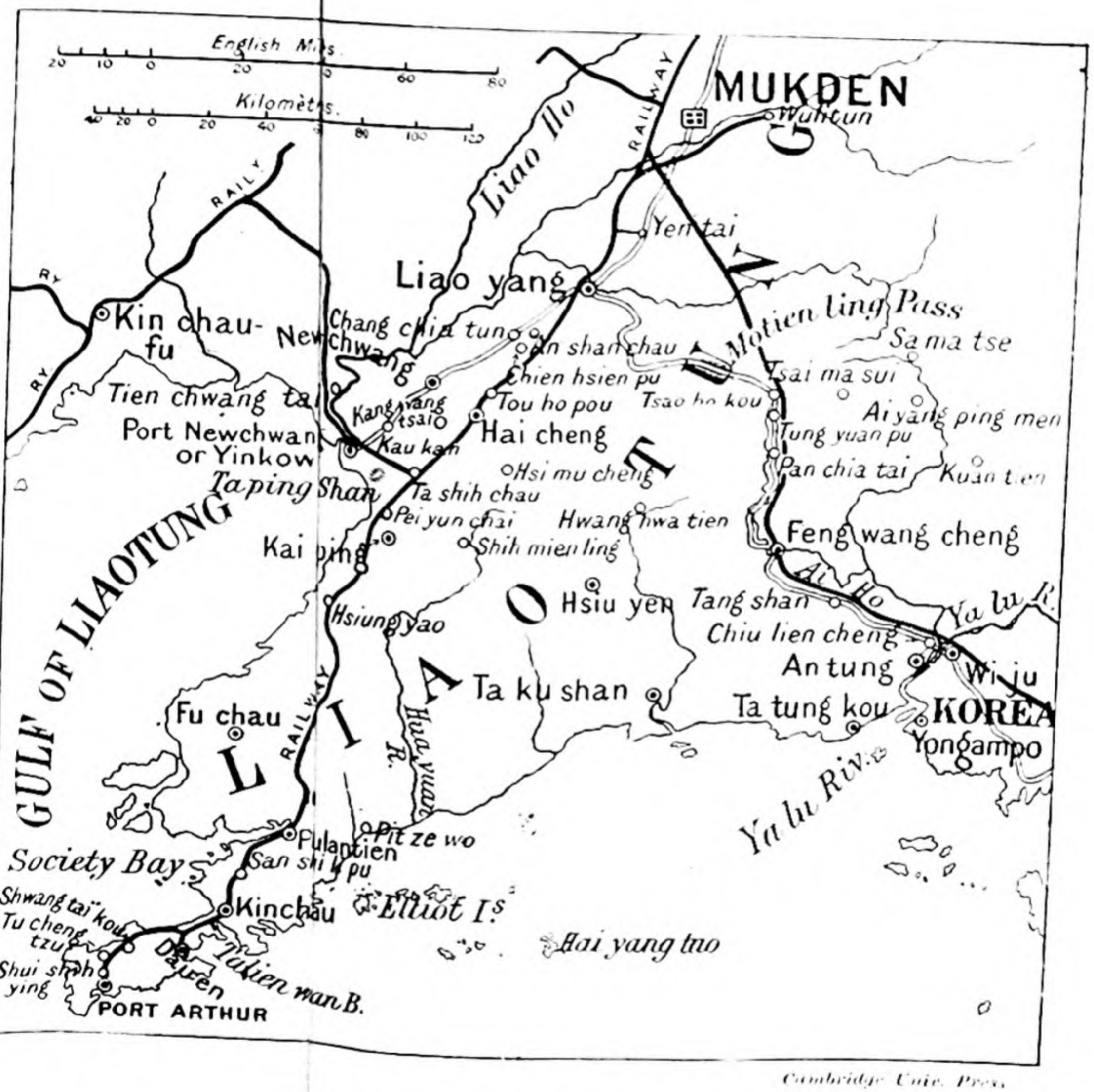
It now became apparent even to the Chinese comprehension that, if they wished to be listened to, they must send a duly-credited man of high rank to urge their case on the Japanese. In this emergency the national desire turned to Li Hungchang, to whom in all difficulties the people had for many years learned to look for the surest help. With a ready patriotism Li accepted the unwelcome office, but stipulated that his position should be fortified by the recorded opinions of the Viceroys and Governors as to the advisability of concluding peace.

So soon as these were forthcoming—they were unanimous in recommending peace—and opportunities had been afforded for consultation with the representatives of Russia, France and Germany, Li with a suite of 130 persons presented himself (March 19) at Shimonoseki, the town chosen by the Japanese as the scene of the conference. On March 21 a meeting was held for the exchange of credentials, and on the following day the discussion of terms began. Everything was going smoothly when, on the 24th, as Li was returning from the conference to his hotel, he was assaulted by a fanatic who fired a pistol point-blank at his head and wounded him in the face. The Japanese generally, from the Mikado downwards, vied with one another in expressing their regret at the incident. Happily the wound was not serious; and the veteran statesman was

soon able to resume work. On April 17 the treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, sealed and delivered.

By this treaty China ceded to Japan the Liaotung promontory, including Port Arthur, the island of Formosa, and the Pescadores group. She further agreed to pay Japan as a war indemnity the sum of 200,000,000 taels, to be paid in eight instalments. In addition to the existing treaty-ports China agreed to open certain towns "to the trade, residence, industries and manufactures of Japanese subjects under the same conditions...as existed at the present open cities." These towns were Shashih in the province of Hupeh; Chungk'ing in the province of Szech'uan; Soochow in the province of Kiang-su; and Hangchow in the province of Chekiang. Further, the right of steam navigation for vessels under the Japanese flag was extended to the following places; viz. on the upper Yangtsze river, from Ich'ang to Chungk'ing, and on the Wusung river and canals, from Shanghai to Soochow and Hangchow. As a guarantee for the faithful performance of the stipulations of the treaty, China consented to the temporary occupation by the military forces of Japan of Weihaiwei in the province of Shantung. It was arranged that the ratifications of the treaty should be exchanged at Chefoo in China on May 8, which was accordingly done.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Li returned to Peking and renewed his negotiations with the Ministers of Russia, France and Germany, with the result, as will be more fully explained hereafter, that these Powers advised Japan in the interest of permanent peace to relinquish the claims on the Liaotung peninsula, on the ground that the possession of the peninsula, with Port Arthur, by any foreign Power would be a standing menace to Peking, and would prejudice the rights of the subjects of the other Treaty Powers. With great self-command Japan yielded to their representations and restored the Liaotung peninsula to China, in return for the payment of an increased indemnity of 30,000,000 taels. Thus ended one of the most notable wars ever fought in Asia.



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THE LIAOTUNG PENINSULA

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SRINAGAR.

Although peace was secured the Chinese government found that many difficulties had to be met before the incident could be closed. It was not to be supposed that the three Powers, Russia, France and Germany, had exerted themselves to recover Liaotung for China without any hope of reward. Russia was the first to present her claim for compensation. Her wants at this time were confined to the concession of the right to carry the Siberian railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok, with a branch line to Kirin, Mukden and Port Arthur. There can be no doubt that in the negotiations conducted by Li Hungchang and the Russian Legation at Peking this right had been agreed to as the price of Russia's intervention on behalf of Liaotung. It was consequently readily granted. In like manner a demand advanced by France that the Chinese should build a railway, in connexion with the Tonquin railway, and should continue it as far as Nanningfu in the province of Kwangsi, was promptly conceded; and certain privileges connected with mines and finance were conferred as a satisfaction to Germany.

These were, however, but the beginning of troubles. The annual amount of indemnity to be paid to Japan amounted to a very considerable sum; and China was unable to meet it with her own unaided resources. In this emergency she appealed to England for a loan; and negotiations for a grant of £12,000,000 had made considerable progress when Russia entered a protest, and urged her objections so vehemently that the Tsungli Yamên, being helpless, begged to be allowed to withdraw its request. Having thus disposed of the projected British loan, Russia offered to supply China's wants, and with this kindly intention made arrangements at St Petersburg in communication with the Chinese ambassador at that Court for the amount required. The Chinese government, however, disavowed the action of its ambassador, who was dismissed and degraded, and broke off the negotiations. Finally the money, with an additional sum of £4,000,000, was borrowed

from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation with the assistance of a German bank. Almost immediately afterwards Count Cassini signed a convention with the Tsungli Yamên, by which his countrymen acquired the right of carrying the Siberian railway through Manchuria and the Liaotung peninsula, with a terminus at Talienwan. At the same time Russia was to be allowed to introduce her own troops for the protection of the line, which at the end of a fixed period was to revert to China, in case she desired it after having fulfilled all her obligations, which were heavy with regard to it. The result of this agreement was that Manchuria became full of Russian soldiers, and throughout wide districts virtually became a Russian possession.

This matter was hardly settled before differences which were destined to have far-reaching consequences arose between China and Germany. On November 1, 1897, two German Roman Catholic priests, living in a village near Chiningchow, in the province of Shantung, were without any provocation, so far as is known, attacked by a band of twenty ruffians who murdered them in cold blood. This outrage differed in kind from those usually perpetrated on foreigners in that the local authorities were well-disposed towards the priests, and were in no sense promoters of the crime, which appears to have been one of those unaccountable outbreaks of fanaticism common among Oriental peoples. These extenuating circumstances were, however, entirely ignored by the German admiral, who within a few days of the occurrence of the murders steamed into the harbour of Kiaochow, in the incriminated province, and took possession of the enclosed island of Tsingtao. The Chinese offered no opposition to this invasion of territory, but retired before what was in reality a quite inadequate force. In addition to this territorial acquisition, together with exclusive rights over the mineral resources of the province, the German Minister at Peking presented the following demands to the Tsungli Yamên: (1) the payment of an indemnity of

200,000 taels of silver; (2) the rebuilding of the chapel destroyed in the riot; (3) the repayment of the expenses incurred by Germany in the occupation of Kiaochow; (4) the dismissal from the public service of Li Pinghêng, the Governor of Shantung; (5) and the infliction of the severest penalties on the actual murderers. By a subsequent arrangement Germany enclosed in her sphere of administration a considerable section of the surrounding country, thus firmly establishing herself in the province.

The acquisition by Germany of this slice of territory, nominally under a lease, but practically in perpetuity, supplied a convenient pretext to Russia, which, ever since the Japanese had been induced to surrender Port Arthur, had kept an eye upon that stronghold. At the approach of winter (1897) Russian ships steamed into the harbour under an agreement with China that they should be allowed to winter there to escape the rigour of the cold at Vladivostok. The British admiral, hearing of this visit and being suspicious of its ultimate object, sent two ships into the harbour. This inconvenient action roused the anger and suspicion of the Russian government, which, through its ambassador in London, demanded explanations. Unhappily Lord Salisbury gave way to the implied threat, and in an evil moment directed the British admiral to move his ships to some other port.

No sooner had the Russians thus shaken off their inconvenient observers than their Minister at Peking at once opened negotiations for a lease on the same terms as that granted to the Germans. With Li Hungchang at Peking this arrangement was speedily concluded; and Russia with scarcely an effort possessed herself *en usufruit* of the strongest port in Eastern Asia, a port which, according to her own statement when she ordered Japan to restore it to China, enables its possessor to dominate Peking. With Port Arthur was included Talienwan; and by the convention which granted to Russia the lease of the territory it was agreed that, as Port Arthur was

a naval port, only Russian and Chinese men-of-war should be allowed to enter the harbour, and that it should be closed to the ships of all other Powers. The same exclusive clause was made to affect also a portion of the harbour of Talienwan, the remaining port of which "sera un port de commerce dans lequel les vaisseaux marchands de toutes nations pourront aller et venir librement."

This convention was signed on the 15th of March, 1898; and in the May following a special arrangement was concluded between Russia and China, by which among other points it was determined that without the assent of Russia no concession should be accorded on the territory to the northward of the new Russian frontier to the subjects of other Powers; that the ports on the eastern and western coasts of this territory should not be open to the commerce of other Powers; and that without the consent of Russia no railway or mining concession should be accorded in the same territory.

Early in 1898 it had become known to Sir Claude MacDonald, from an authoritative Chinese source, that the Chinese government would not be averse to granting to Great Britain a lease of Weihaiwei, so soon as the Japanese, who were holding it as a security for the right fulfilment of the Chinese and Japanese treaty, should have evacuated it. At the moment Lord Salisbury was disinclined to proceed in the matter. But, when Russia took possession of Port Arthur and Talienwan, he considered that the balance of power in North China had been so considerably altered that it was only due to Great Britain that advantage should be taken of the Chinese overture. Sir Claude MacDonald was instructed to open negotiations; and on July 1, 1898, a convention was signed at Peking, by which the island of Liukung and all the islands in the bay of Weihaiwei, with a belt of land 10 English miles wide along the entire coast-line of the bay of Weihaiwei, were leased to Great Britain for so long as Port Arthur should remain in the occupation of Russia.

Weihaiwei is situated in the province of Shantung, the same province as that in which Kiaochow lies; and it was felt therefore that some explanation should be made to Germany with reference to the occupation of the port. Acting on this sentiment, Mr Balfour, who was in temporary charge of the Foreign Office, instructed Sir Frank Lascelles to assure the German government that, in establishing herself at Weihaiwei, England had no intention of contesting the rights and interests of Germany in the province of Shantung, or of making difficulties in that province. He added, somewhat superfluously, that it was especially understood that England would not construct any railway from Weihaiwei or the leased territory into the interior of the province. The evacuation of Weihaiwei by the Japanese was completed on the 24th of May, 1898, and on the following day Sir Edward Seymour hoisted the British flag over the newly-acquired territory.

During the early months of 1898 the foreign diplomatists were busily engaged in extracting declarations and conventions from the Chinese. On February 11 the Yamên gave Sir Claude MacDonald a solemn assurance that the Chinese government, recognising the importance of the valley of the Yangtsze, would not hypothecate, lease, or cede any part of it to another Power. Two months later the Yamên gave to France a similar assurance intended to safeguard her interests in the province of Tonquin; and in April they averred for the benefit of the Japanese that they would hold complete possession of the province of Fuhkien against all comers.

The engagements into which China had entered with France with reference to the non-alienation of the provinces adjoining the Tonquin frontier were not held to interfere with the leasing to Great Britain of a stretch of territory on the mainland opposite Hongkong. Hongkong is naturally a place of considerable strength, but it had its weak point from a strategical point of view. It was obvious, even to those uninstructed in warlike matters, that an enemy holding the promontory of Kowloon might imperil the safety of Hongkong;

and it was determined therefore, while there was yet time, to negotiate with the Chinese for the lease of the promontory. This was granted without demur. It is a long way from Peking; and the probabilities are that the authorities of the Tsungli Yamên had but a very vague notion as to its whereabouts.

The territory thus leased covers an area of 200 square miles, and comprises "the entire region on the mainland behind Kowloon to a line joining Mirs Bay and Deep Bay, besides the waters of those bays and the island of Lantao." This transfer of territory had been made without any consultation with the natives of the district, who woke up one morning in July, 1898, to find that they had passed under the yoke of fresh masters from the other end of the world. Against this political exchange they entered a loud protest and even took up arms against the new *régime*. The despatch from Hongkong of a land force accompanied by three gunboats to the disturbed district put a stop, however, to the agitation; and the people have since become quiet and peaceable (temporary) subjects of the British Empire. The convention respecting the transfer was signed at Peking on June 9.

While the negotiations with regard to this lease were in progress, Prince Kung died in Peking (May 29, 1898). The Prince had conducted the foreign relations of his country for a longer period than had any other Chinese statesman. During the advance of the allies on Peking in 1860 Prince Kung was appointed plenipotentiary for the conclusion of peace in the absence of the Emperor, who had secured personal safety by flight to Jehol. From this time until 1884, with the exception of two short enforced retirements, he may be said to have directed the foreign policy of the country. At the latter date the fall of Bacninh brought disgrace in its train to all connected with foreign affairs; and it was not until 1894, when the Korean imbroglio made the services of the best men necessary, that Kung was recalled to public life. For some time before his death, however, his political influence had decayed; and his death cannot be said to have affected the course of affairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

REFORM AND REACTION IN CHINA.

EVER since the early eighties, and more especially after the Franco-Chinese and Chino-Japanese wars, it had been obvious to careful observers that a growing proportion of the literary class of the Empire was inspired by a desire for reform. The fact that at the head of this movement stood the Emperor added importance to it. It was well known that the Son of Heaven had made himself acquainted with a sprinkling of European letters through the medium of the translations furnished by the Society for the Diffusion of Literature; and, though the knowledge thus acquired was necessarily only superficial, it inspired him with a desire to advance the political standing of the Empire and to improve the social condition of the people.

The national humiliation which had been entailed by the disastrous war with Japan had made a deep impression on his mind; and he set himself with all his might to remove the disgrace of impotence which had become attached to the Empire. As was naturally to be expected, the Emperor in the prosecution of his crusade against ignorance and incompetence thus begun was led into many and great errors. He was struggling against numerous and mighty forces, and was but imperfectly equipped for the contest. Nevertheless he fought

valiantly, and might have ultimately succeeded if he had sought wiser and more astute counsellors than those whose advice he followed. Born to a position in which his word, as he was constantly told by his courtiers, was law, he had grown up under the idea that he had but to utter a command and it would be obeyed. He knew that on all administrative matters his writs ran throughout the Empire, and he believed that it was only necessary for him to utter a word to change the whole course of Chinese history and to turn back the current of national prejudice.

Convinced in his own mind of the necessity of reform, he formed the crude idea that it could be imposed on the nation by the issue of edicts, however much these might be opposed to the existing opinions of the people. The result was the appearance of a series of decrees (1898) by which in his ignorance of the world he hoped to reform the Empire. One of the first of these documents related mainly, as was natural after the defeat which the nation had suffered at the hands of the Japanese, to the efficiency of the army. It commanded the adoption of modern arms and Western organisation, and of an improved system of selecting military officers; and "the institution of high and elementary schools and colleges of literary instruction in accordance with those which exist in foreign countries, all for the sake of starting our country on the road of progress."

"These subjects," he assured his people, "had long been in his thoughts, but he had met with constant obstructions from officials who could urge in reply but vain and impracticable suggestions. The fact is," he went on to argue, "that our scholars are without solid and practical education; and our artisans are without scientific instructors. Comparing ourselves with other countries, we soon see the difference between our strength and theirs, and when we compare the ready wealth of this country with the wealth of other countries the difference is still greater. Does anyone think that in our present condition he can really say with truth that our men are as well

drilled and as well led as those of foreign armies; or that we can successfully stand against any of them? We are conscious of the fact that, unless we in our own person decide firmly and strongly, our commands will not go far towards their fulfilment. The methods of government inaugurated by the Sung and Ming dynasties, upon investigation, reveal nothing that is of any practical use, or that may be of advantage to China."

These were hard facts for a proud nation of scholars to accept; and the Emperor went on to assure his subjects that, though he felt that changes should be made in accord with the necessities of the times, it was yet incumbent on them to bear in mind the wisdom of the ancient sages, and to make these "the basis upon which to build newer and more advantageous methods." In continuation, the Emperor urged the people to cast off the slough which "obstructs our forward progress, and to strive with single-heartedness and energy to improve upon all things which we have learned." And he concluded by expressing an earnest hope "that all will eagerly take advantage of the modern education now opened to them, so that in the time to come we may have many and willing helpers in the great and arduous work before us of putting our country on a level with the best of the Western Powers. Let everyone listen to and obey these our sincere and earnest words, and let it be known that this edict is specially for all our subjects."

For a considerable time a movement in favour of reform had been going on at Canton, headed by K'ang Yuwei, a scholar of a high reputation, who had won for himself the popular title of "The Modern Sage and Reformer." His words were implicitly obeyed by his followers, who one and all were banded together by their devotion to their country's true interests. The fame of this reformer had reached the capital; and his cause had been taken up by no less a person than Wêng Tungho, the Emperor's old tutor. Under this august patronage it was easy to secure the services of a Censor

to introduce him to the notice of the Emperor; and, in reply to a memorial presented by such a one, an edict appeared, ordering that K'ang should be presented in special audience. As a preliminary, however, K'ang was admitted to a conference at the Tsungli Yamên, which lasted for three hours, and at which all the members of the Yamên were present (Jan. 1898). The reform especially advocated at this interview was the adoption of a properly constituted judicial system, without which all the rest would be useless.

On the morning after this conference a report of the proceedings was submitted to the Emperor, who directed that K'ang should embody in a memorial to the throne the points which he especially desired to urge. In the state-paper which was the result of this mandate, K'ang recommended that the example set by Japan of revolutionising the antiquated system of government should be followed; that expression should be allowed to the popular voice; that the old type of officials should be abolished in favour of young and energetic men; that twelve new departments, of "Law, Finance, Education (with foreign teachers), Legislature, Agriculture, Commerce, Mechanics, Railways, Post, Mining, Army, and Navy, all on Western lines, with foreigners to advise and assist," should be established; and that taxation should be readjusted on a scientific basis by which the national revenue might be raised to 70,000,000 taels of silver.

These sweeping reforms gained the suffrages of many of the members of the Tsungli Yamên, but were opposed by Prince Kung and Yunglu, who regarded them as revolutionary and visionary. The Emperor, however, was much interested in K'ang's proposals, and granted him an interview which lasted for two hours, and at which the modern sage expounded at length the political changes which he recommended in the true interests of the Empire. The Emperor lent a willing ear to his advice, and studied carefully his published books on the *Reform of Japan* and the *Reform of*

Russia, in which works he recommends the examples of the present Mikado and of Peter the Great as models to be followed. Repeated interviews followed on this audience; and in many confidential discussions K'ang was allowed to elaborate his views on the reforms which he advocated.

The result of these consultations soon became apparent. In rapid succession there appeared a number of sweeping edicts. By one of these, the literary essay, as the standard of literary examination, was abolished. In others, Princes and Ministers were rebuked for want of promptness in establishing the commanded Imperial University at Peking, and railway officials were bidden to press on the construction of the authorised lines. A Bureau of Agriculture was established on the model of the Shanghai Agricultural Association; the Board of War and the Tsungli Yamên were ordered to report on the radical changes which were proposed in the method of military examinations; a system of copyright and patent laws for the Empire was decreed. Schools and colleges were established in all provincial capitals and prefectural and other cities, to be supported out of the funds of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, the Telegraph Administration, and a Canton lottery; and all memorial and other temples built by the people, and not recorded in the list of the Board of Rites and Court of Sacrificial Worship, were to be turned into schools and colleges for the propagation of the new learning. Ministers were warned to deal honestly and frankly with the Emperor in his difficulties. A Shanghai paper entitled *Chinese Progress* was declared to be the official organ of the government. The Board of Revenue was directed "to examine carefully into the advisability of an immediate repeal of all purchase and sale of official rank"; and the *literati* of the Empire were bidden to read carefully Chang Chihtung's work entitled *Exhortations to Study*. Schools and colleges were to be established as feeders to the Imperial University; Dr W. A. P. Martin was appointed head of the University faculty; and the

establishment at Shanghai of a Translation Bureau, for putting into Chinese Western books on Science, Arts, and Literature, and text-books for the schools and colleges, was ordered. Grand reviews of the northern forces of the Empire were ordered to be held at Peking and Tientsin, at which the Emperor and the Dowager-Empress were to be present; and the abolition of superabundant and sinecure offices was commanded.

The effect of these and other edicts, appearing, as they did, at a time when the question of reform was in the air, produced great and startling results. Magazines and newspapers sprang into existence and circulated everywhere; educational, scientific, and religious books were published in large numbers and were eagerly read. The national mind was stirred. From the highest to the lowest, the officials and the people turned to the light of the new learning; and in several provincial capitals clubs were established for the study of "the secret of the success and the source of the energy of the Christian nations." At this time it seemed as though the Emperor was right, and that by a stroke of a pen he had transformed the Empire. But suddenly a change came over the aspect of affairs.

Among the innovations introduced was the permission granted to Secretaries of Boards to memorialise the throne through their superior officers. Among these officials was a certain Wang Chao, who had drunk deep at the new fountain of knowledge, and who in his eagerness for reform out-Heroded Herod. In his zeal he penned a memorial in which he advocated the abolition of the queue, the adoption of European dress, the establishment of a national Parliament, the promotion of Christianity, and the advisability of the Emperor and Dowager-Empress making a pilgrimage to Japan to inspect the results of the line of policy which he supported. These proposals Wang Chao presented to the Presidents of the Board of Rites with a request that they should be trans-

mitted to the throne (Sep. 1898). So revolutionary, however, did they appear to the Presidents that they summoned the reforming clerk into their presence with the intention of rebuking him for his intemperate zeal and of returning his memorial.

But Wang proved himself to be recalcitrant, and pointing to the Imperial edict which gave him the right to follow the course which he had pursued, he blandly reiterated his request that the Presidents would act in accordance with the Imperial will. Finding that they were unable to shake the obstinacy of Wang, they composed a joint memorial to the throne in which they inveighed against the revolutionary ideas of their Secretary.

To their surprise and consternation an edict appeared the next day, in which their impeachment of Wang was described as disparaging the Emperor's perception of right and wrong, and their attempt to burk his memorial as disobedience to the Imperial order. The edict ended by handing them over to the Board of Civil Offices for the determination of the penalty to be inflicted on them for their indiscretion. Having a fellow-feeling with the rebuked Presidents, the Board determined that they should be degraded three degrees of rank, and should be transferred to correspondingly inferior posts. But this mild sentence did not meet the Emperor's idea of justice; and with one stroke of the vermilion pencil he ordered that they should be dismissed from the public service. Wang Chao, on the other hand, was promoted to honour, and was appointed a provincial judge. At the same time Li Hungchang and a Manchu, named Chin Hsin, who were accused of having thwarted the Emperor's intentions were dismissed from their offices at the Tsungli Yamên.

These drastic measures produced consternation in the official world of Peking; and the disgraced officials, with their friends, felt that it was time to present a memorial to the Dowager-Empress imploring her, in the interests of the

dynasty, to depose the Emperor, to resume the reins of power, and to put down the reformers. This petition was presented in person by the malcontents, who urged upon her the necessity of striking, and that at once. In support of this paper a certain Censor presented a secret memorial, in which he emphasised the arguments of the dismissed officials, and pointed out "the dangers into which reform was hurrying the country through the introduction of Western civilisation, which would be followed soon afterwards by the predominance of foreign influences in the Empire, and the gradual disappearance of the dynasty. The Censor implored the Dowager-Empress, therefore, to assume the reins of government, as this was the only way to save the Empire."

Nothing loath, the Empress, who had secretly watched with infinite disapproval the course which the Emperor had chosen to adopt, sent for Prince Tuan and Tsai Lien, whom she knew to be in sympathy with her, and instructed them to call together a meeting of all Princes, Dukes, Nobles, and Ministers of the Imperial clan to demand the deposition of the Emperor, and the dismissal of his reforming advisers. To the Emperor and his friends it was well known that Yunglu, who was then Viceroy of Chihli, was the prime mover in this plot; and it was determined, therefore, to strike at him before it was too late. For this purpose Yuan Shi Kai, the late Governor of Shan-tung, a man on whom the Emperor thought he could rely, was summoned to the palace, and was ordered to arrest and behead Yunglu at Tientsin. He was then to march on Peking at the head of the northern army, to surround the Iho Park, the residence of the Dowager-Empress, and to make that august lady a prisoner.

Unfortunately for the prosecution of this counterplot, the instrument chosen, though able, was unscrupulous and violated his allegiance to the Emperor. Yuan Shi Kai had been trained in the school of Li Hungchang, and, like that arch-opportunist, had learned to discard all principle and

loyalty, and to range himself with the political party which could command the largest support. In this case he believed that the strong battalions were on the side of the Empress, and he therefore determined to betray his sovereign in her interest. Instead of executing the Imperial warrant, he disclosed the whole circumstances to the intended victim, who instantly set off for Peking and presented himself before his Imperial mistress. Throwing himself on his knees before her he implored her to save his life, and described the dangers from which he had escaped. The Empress now saw that what had to be done must be done quickly. She therefore invaded the Emperor's palace, and after many hard sayings, she ended by passing sentence of supersession on him (Sep. 1898). "You are after all," she said, "but an unsophisticated child. Return to your inner apartments! It is evident that I must resume control to save the Empire, which you, in your extreme unwisdom and foolishness, seem to be doing your best to drive to perdition. Oh, those traitors! those traitors!"

In these changed conditions it was evident that the reformers were no longer secure; and the Emperor ordered K'ang Yuwei to secure his own safety. In a farewell edict which he addressed to him he pathetically wrote: "I have very great sorrow in my heart, which cannot be described with pen and ink. You must at once proceed abroad, and devise means without a moment's delay to save me." Acting on this advice K'ang escaped from the capital and, having made his way to the sea, secured safety on board a British man-of-war, which landed him at Hongkong. His brother was not so fortunate; with five other young reformers, he was seized and imprisoned by the Board of Punishments. A special court was summoned to try these delinquents; but before any evidence was heard K'angyi, one of the Empress's chosen advisers, entered the Court, and waving a special edict issued by the Empress, he ordered the six victims to instant execution. With calm fortitude the martyrs to reform met their fate, "while protesting

that, though they might easily be slain, multitudes of others would arise to take their places." This was the beginning of a series of cold-blooded murders. Fifty-three of the Emperor's eunuchs, who were supposed to favour reform, were beaten to death in the court-yard of the palace; other aiders and abettors of the Emperor were beheaded; and prices were put on the heads of those who had escaped.

The fate of the Emperor was the subject of divided counsel. Yunglu and his followers recommended that he should be put to death, while others advised the milder course of deposition. This latter expedient was adopted; and it was determined that the Dowager-Empress should at once take over the reins of government. So completely subjugated was the Emperor that, when an eunuch was sent to demand from him the surrender of the great seal, he gave it up at once. The reactionaries, with the Dowager-Empress at their head, had now every opportunity of carrying out their policy, and they lost no time in giving effect to their views. In quick succession edicts appeared in the *Peking Gazette* denouncing the policy of the reformers, and reversing all the projects of reform which had been proclaimed by the Emperor.

With this change of front occurred a complete revulsion of feeling towards foreigners, and all tendencies which they were believed to favour, throughout the Empire. The Chinese are so used to yield implicit obedience to the mandarins that at a word from their rulers they are ready to adopt any course which they command; and so it came about that no sooner had the genial effect of the Emperor's policy been extinguished than the attitude of the people underwent a complete change. From all parts of the country news arrived of disturbed feelings and violent outbreaks. In the first instance the hostility was shown mainly towards the Roman Catholic missionaries and their followers, who were accused of interfering with the course of justice, and of assuming privileges which did not belong to them.

The first outbreak occurred in the province of Kiangsu, and the movement rapidly spread into the neighbouring provinces of Anhui, Shantung, and Chihli. At the city of Linch'ing a dispute with the Roman Catholics about a piece of land developed under the adverse influences prevalent into a riot. An attack was made on a chapel, which was destroyed; and in the neighbouring villages Christian communities were broken up and subjected to violence.

We have already described the manner in which the cessions of Kiaochow, Port Arthur, and Weihaiwei, together with the Cassini Convention, were wrung from the impotent government of China. The Western barbarians appeared irresistible. But a gleam of unexpected success in another direction raised them from their depression. The Italian government having advanced a claim for a port on the coast of Chekiang, the demand was successfully resisted by the Chinese, in whom this diplomatic victory inspired the belief that, had they refused the earlier requests for territory, the Powers would have submitted to their decisions.

But it did more than this. It suggested to the Chinese government that it was possible by strengthening the provincial Viceroys, to reverse the yielding policy of late years, and to keep the Powers in their places. This change of view found speedy expression. A secret edict was issued to all the provincial satraps ordering them "to see that the Empire received no detriment, and in case of imminent foreign invasion to repel force with force, without even waiting to report the matter to Peking." At the same time the notorious K'angyi was commissioned to visit the treaty-ports and to urge on the Viceroys and Governors the necessity of organising corps, which were afterwards amalgamated with the Boxers, for the defence of the coast. At the bidding of this official large sums were extorted from the provinces for the purchase of new and powerful armaments, for the purpose, as it was openly asserted, of supporting an anti-foreign movement.

The *Iho ch'üan*, or Boxers (lit. Patriotic harmonious fists), now began to reappear. At the beginning of the 19th century a force under this name, which was also known as the "Great Sword Society," disturbed for a time the peace of the Empire. In subsequent and more peaceful days it played the part of *T'uan*, or Militia, and it was under this guise that it was discovered by the reactionaries of 1898. Chinese secret societies have a chameleon-like quality of changing their outward identity; and the Boxers of the beginning of the century preserved their organisation under the forms, and in the ranks of the "White Lily Society," the "Great Sword Society" and the loyal *T'uan* or Militia. The modern Boxers found no difficulty, therefore, in amalgamating with the *T'uan* at the bidding of the Peking authorities; and the particular *T'uan* with which they marched to rapine were designated *Iho t'uan* in complimentary imitation of the name *Iho ch'üan*, by which the Boxers had elected to be known. In response to these and other moving causes, feeling was at this time running high against every claim and pretension of the outer barbarians. The government had given away territories and ports, and had mortgaged large stretches of land for the construction of railways and the opening of mines. The only lines which were open to traffic at this time were the line from Peking to Niuchwang *viâ* Tientsin and Shanhaikwan; the northern and southern ends of the line which was to connect Luk'ouch'iao near Peking and Hankow; and a short line from Shanghai to Wusung. But, in addition to these lines, concessions had been granted for the construction of twenty or more railways, which were to cross and recross the Empire in all directions, from the borders of Siberia to the frontiers of Burma. Some of the richest mineral districts had been leased to syndicates which contemptuously overrode Chinese sentiment in the assertion of their claims. The Peking Syndicate had acquired rights over what is probably the largest coal-field in the world, in the province of Shansi; and in other directions, north, east, south

and west, the country was being exploited in the interests of foreigners, though an attempt was made to persuade the Chinese that their own interest equally demanded the change.

The Chinese have a saying that water a long way off is of no use in extinguishing a fire near at hand; and it was difficult to persuade them that the benefits which they would derive in the future would compensate them for the immediate loss of territory which they had sustained. These views were not confined to the people, but were shared by the rulers of the Empire, who in their blind way were striving to recover as much lost ground as was possible. In their distress they turned to their classical literature, and there read that their ancient sages had warned them that what the "barbarians" desired, then as now, was the *land* of China; and they strove to enforce this dictum by ordering the provincial authorities to instruct the people in the Sacred Edicts of the illustrious Emperor K'anghsi on the evils of listening to any other doctrines than those of Confucius.

Under the influence of these teachings hostility began to show itself against missionaries and their converts with even more virulence than at ordinary times, and principally in the province of Shantung. This province had been very unfortunate of late. It had been the scene of the German aggression, and it had been ruled over by two men in succession who had distinguished themselves among their fellows for their bitter hatred of foreigners generally. When Li Pinghêng was dismissed from the governorship on account of the murder of German missionaries, a successor was found in Yühsien, whose record is one constant attack upon foreigners and all that they advocate. It was this man who, while Governor of Shansi, personally superintended the murder of European missionaries, men, women, and children, in his own yamên.

With the protection and support of this official the anti-foreign spirit in the province increased in intensity; and the

Boxer movement, which was then beginning to declare itself, flourished abundantly. Disturbances broke out on all sides; and the people began to proclaim that the time had come to drive all foreigners into the sea. In a village near the city of Linch'ing the natives rose against the Roman Catholic converts and destroyed their chapel. Whole congregations were dispersed; and, though troops were called in to quell the riots, it is doubtful whether their assistance was of any value. The Boxers received the ready support of the Governor, who, in his despatches to the Tsungli Yamên, described the Christians as being, in all cases, the aggressors; and he had even the insolence to send a message through the ministry to Mr Conger, the American Minister, asking him to instruct the missionaries to restrain and keep in order the native Christians. To the same authorities he represented the above-mentioned attack on the Roman Catholics as having been made by the Christians, who had, he asserted, laid an ambush for the Boxers.

In the neighbourhood of Ichoufu three missionaries were attacked and roughly treated; and in the same district a German missionary was wounded and carried away to the mountains. With the immunity from punishment which the Boxers now enjoyed, the movement spread apace; and swarms of armed rioters spread over the province. One magistrate, who, being desirous of preserving law and order, had taken six of these rioters into custody, was censured for his zeal by the Governor, who ordered him to release the prisoners. The now celebrated Yuan Shi Kai, who was serving in the province, and who had defeated the Boxers in a pitched battle, was degraded in rank on the charge of having killed innocent people; while the Boxers were described as worthy men, who, in self-defence against the attacks of the Christians, were drilling and arming themselves in a perfectly legitimate way.

Meanwhile edicts appeared in the *Peking Gazette* in quick succession reversing the policy inaugurated by the Emperor,

and giving every support to the anti-foreign movement which was, as we have seen, beginning to ferment all over the country. One of the most warlike of these documents was published in December, 1899, and ran as follows:—

"Our Empire is now labouring under great difficulties, which are becoming daily more serious. The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which the Empire can never assent to, and, that if hardly pressed, we have no alternative but to rely on the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which strengthens our resolves, and steels us to present an united front against our aggressors....But there is an evil habit, which has become almost a custom, amongst our Viceroys and Governors which must be eradicated at all costs. Whenever these officials have had in their hands cases of international disputes, their action seems to be guided by the belief that these would eventually be 'amicably arranged.' These words never seem to be out of their thoughts; hence, when matters really do come to a crisis, they find themselves utterly unprepared to resist any hostile aggression on the part of the foreigner....It is our special command that, should any high official find himself so hardly pressed by circumstances that nothing short of war can settle matters, he shall set himself resolutely to fulfil his duty to the end... It behoves therefore that our Viceroys, Governors, and Commanders-in-chief unite their forces and act together without distinction of jurisdiction so as to present a combined front to the enemy, exhorting and encouraging their officers and soldiers in person, to fight for the preservation of their homes and native soil from the encroaching footsteps of the foreign aggressor. Never should the word 'Peace' fall from their mouths....With such a country as ours, with her vast area,

stretching out several tens of thousands of '*li*,' her immense natural resources, and her hundreds of millions of inhabitants, if only each and all of you would prove your loyalty to your Emperor, and your love of your country, what, indeed, is there to fear from any invader? Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader. Let these our words be made known to each and all within our dominions[1]."

This inflammatory edict was followed by others equally disturbing, and produced the effect which was intended by the Empress. The Boxers gained courage and recruits; and their pretended supernatural powers gave them a popularity in the eyes of the ignorant people which helped on their cause. But the people were not alone in their belief in the pretensions of the Boxers. The Dowager-Empress had complete faith in their invulnerability, and subsequently caused an exhibition of their magical powers to be given at the palace, when what she saw convinced her of the truth of their assertions.

At this time, also, the fact that Great Britain was engaged in the Boer War and had met with reverses at the hands of irregular troops gave additional confidence to the Empress and her advisers, who believed that they could now reckon on not encountering any active opposition from the British government. In these circumstances the moment appeared to be favourable for the project entertained of deposing the Emperor, and of setting up in his place the young son of Prince Tuan, the notorious Boxer chief. But to the surprise and indignation of the conspirators the very proposal raised such a storm in China, and among the Chinese settled abroad, that it was considered wise to let it drop. Telegrams and written protests poured in from all sides; and in obedience to the popular clamour it was publicly announced that there had not been any

[1] *North China Herald*, Dec. 29, 1899.

idea of deposing the Emperor, but only of providing an heir for the succession, as he was without male issue.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, and in spite of the fact that a famine had arisen in the disturbed regions, which was put down by the superstitious people to the displeasure of High Heaven at the usurpation of the Dowager-Empress, the Boxer movement spread like wildfire. Under the fostering care of Yühsien, its members knew that they had a free hand to do whatever they pleased; and, as the attacks on the Christian communities filled their pockets at the same time that they gratified their political animosity, these became generally popular. In some places the Christians banded themselves together to resist the persecutions, and succeeded in driving off their opponents. But in such cases they were represented in reports to the throne as having been the aggressors; and the *doyen* of the foreign representatives at Peking was gravely asked to restrain the violence of the converts. The true facts of the case were, however, too palpable to give rise to any belief in such assertions; and, as all evidence pointed to Yühsien being the prime mover in the agitation, the foreign representatives made a formal demand that he should be removed from his post as Governor of Shantung. After some resistance the point was yielded, and he was transferred to the governorship of Shansi, where his subsequent action covered him with eternal disgrace.

Fortunately for the province a very different man was appointed to succeed the infamous Yühsien. Yuan Shi Kai was a man who was well known in the Chinese political world. He had for years represented the Emperor in Korea, and had, there and elsewhere, constantly been brought into touch with foreigners. For an Oriental he was recognised as honest and straightforward; and, except when self-interest pointed very distinctly in the opposite direction, he has always shown himself kindly disposed towards foreigners. Shortly after his arrival in Shantung a case arose which tried his loyalty. Mr Brooks,

an English missionary, when on his way from T'ai-an to P'ing-yin was seized by a band of Boxers, and after having been cruelly ill-treated was put to a barbarous death. On the receipt of this news at Peking, Mr Campbell, of the China Consular Service, was sent to Chinanfu, the capital of Shan-tung, to see that justice was done. With the cordial coopera-tion of Yuan the murderers were brought to justice and were publicly beheaded. But this check on disorder did not seriously affect the onward flow of the Boxer movement. A Roman Catholic priest, in the neighbourhood of Chinanfu, reported that between five and six hundred families belonging to his congregation had been plundered, that ten of his converts had been murdered, and that 5000 had been rendered home-less. So disturbed were the province and surrounding districts that these and other outrages were allowed to remain unre-dressed.

A drought which occurred at this time added to the dis-content which was becoming general in the country, and for a time turned the current of feeling against the Dowager-Empress, who in the opinion of her subjects had brought down upon them the displeasure of Heaven by superseding the Emperor. The arrival of the Boxers in the metropolitan province converted this belief into an anti-foreign cry. These wild allies of the Empress had fixed to their banner a device proclaiming the destruction of all foreigners who were eating up their country, whose religion was calling down on China the wrath of Heaven, and whose accursed railways and tele-graphs were diverting the good influences from on high.

In order further to weaken the outcry against her for having usurped control, the Dowager-Empress issued an edict signed by the Emperor, in which he was made to say that "finding there was no probability (or even possibility) of his having a child, he had besought the Dowager-Empress to select some suitable person to be adopted as heir to the Emperor T'ungchih." She was further represented as having

been graciously pleased, after repeated requests, to nominate P'uchün, a son of Prince Ch'un, to be Heir Apparent. Armed with this weapon of excuse the Dowager-Empress still further diverted public opinion from her own misdeeds by encouraging the growth of the Boxer bands; and under her fostering care these grew and flourished abundantly.

So disturbed became the situation that the foreign representatives solemnly warned the Tsungli Yamên that if the uprising was not vigorously quelled international complications were likely to ensue. In reply assurances were given by the Tsungli Yamên that the government was doing all in its power to suppress both the Boxers and the Big Knife societies, of the violence of both of which especial complaint had been made. It was well known, however, that while these smooth sayings were uttered for the benefit of the Legations, secret instructions were being sent to the Viceroys and Governors giving orders in a directly opposite sense.

Meanwhile a large army commanded by the celebrated T'ung Fuhsiang, who was notoriously anti-foreign in his proclivities, was ordered to Peking, and took up its position in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. These men soon began to give trouble. On one occasion, in October, 1899, "Mr Cox, Engineer in charge of the Luhan Railway, accompanied by Mr Campbell of the British Legation, and a Major of the British army, went on a trolley car to inspect the bridge at Luk'ou. There they found some thirty of General T'ung's soldiers, who refused to leave the bridge when asked to do so, and called the inspectors 'Foreign Devils.' An officer who arrived was invited to order the men to depart, which he did, although protesting that they were not under his command. The party then crossed the bridge and inspected the work, but on their return they were attacked by the soldiers with stones. One of the engineers, Mr Norregarde, was severely cut about the face and head, and Mr Cox was wounded. The former fearing that the lives of himself and his friends were in danger

fired from a small revolver two shots at the soldiers. The visiting party, on this, at once retreated to Fêngt'ai, and all the engineers were called in from the railway[1]." As soon as the foreigners had turned their backs, the soldiers looted the works and fired a volley into the quarters of the native workmen, killing one man and wounding others. Prompt remonstrances were made by the Legations against the posting of the Kansu troops so near the capital; and in consequence the Governor of Peking was sent to Luk'ou to investigate the circumstances connected with the outrage. Even he, however, received scant courtesy at the hands of T'ung's rough troops, and was glad to escape without personal injuries.

It was plain from this and from other cases of violence which occurred about this time that the leaders of the anti-foreign party were beginning to cast appearances aside; and in every direction indications were rife that the Boxers were rapidly acquiring the upper hand. On all sides their adherents were being drilled and armed with swords; the anti-foreign literature which they particularly affected was sold openly in the streets of Peking; while threats were constantly uttered against foreigners and their native servants. Repeated remonstrances against these signs of ill-will were addressed by the Legations to the Tsungli Yamên; and at an interview held with the officers of the Yamên it was again pointed out that, unless immediate steps were taken to restore order, the results could not fail to be extremely serious to the Chinese government.

While this correspondence was going on, the indignation of the foreign representatives was further aroused by the transference of the now notorious Yühsien from the governorship of Shantung to that of Shansi. Against this appointment Mr Conger as *doyen* protested strongly, and urged that his past conduct had been such as to make him quite unfit to rule

[1] A. Smith, *China in Convulsion*, Vol. I. p. 163.

over a territory where foreign missionaries were located. "His conduct," wrote Mr Conger, "is in most flagrant disregard of treaty stipulations, and cannot be either tolerated or overlooked. Therefore, because of all this, and in the interests of the safety of the American missionaries and their followers, I herewith file a formal and most emphatic protest against his future appointment to any place where he will have under his control either missionaries or their work."

A brisk correspondence followed between the Legations and the Yamên, in which the foreign representatives singly and collectively urged on the Chinese government the imperative necessity of quelling the Boxer movement. In response to this the Yamên professed an earnest desire to put an end to the agitation, but did nothing. Unfortunately for all concerned, that glamour which the Chinese appear to be able to cast over their actions in the eyes of foreigners exercised its mesmeric force; and their professions received an amount of belief which, looking back on the events, appears to be incredible. It is true that they sent an expedition against the Boxers, and reported the destruction of Boxer encampments and the capture of Boxer leaders. The first was a mere invention; and as to their prisoners, if any were taken, they were immediately released. But the legends answered their purpose; and Sir C. MacDonald reported to the Foreign Office that he thought himself "justified in expressing the opinion that the central government was at last beginning to give evidence of a genuine desire to suppress this anti-Christian organisation."

As a matter of fact it was doing nothing of the sort. The soldiers openly fraternised with the Boxers, who were allowed a free hand to plunder and murder the Christian converts in the country districts. Boxer charms and incantations were everywhere exhibited and believed in. In one case, at a town between Tientsin and Peking, the magistrate did loyally attempt to suppress the movement in his district. But the

instant that his action became known at Peking orders were issued which led to the reversal of his policy, and to a consequent persecution of the resident Christians.

By the month of April, 1900, the position had become so critical that foreigners resident in Peking received private intimation from friendly natives that if they wished to save their lives they had better leave the capital. Within a few days of this time, Monseigneur Favier, the Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Catholic Mission at Peking, wrote to the French Minister reporting that 70 Christians had been massacred, and that several villages had been looted and burned in the neighbourhood of Paotingfu, and warning the Minister that unless strong measures were taken against the Boxers the worst consequences would supervene. In support of this warning Mgr. Favier stated the facts which had come to his knowledge as to the programme of the rioters, and pointed out that while at present violence had been offered only to Christians, the real object of the uprising was the extermination of foreigners.

With that curious optimism which clouded the judgment of foreigners generally, Sir C. MacDonald refused to believe in the gloomy forecasts of the French Vicar Apostolic, and wrote to the Foreign Office, reporting that "the Pekingese were quiet and civil towards foreigners, and that nothing had come to his knowledge to confirm the gloomy predictions of Mgr. Favier." In concluding his despatch he further wrote, "I am convinced that a few days' heavy rainfall, to terminate the long-continued drought which has helped largely to excite unrest in the country districts, would do more to restore tranquillity than any measures which either the Chinese government or foreign governments could take."

A fitting comment on this despatch was furnished by the state of open war which immediately followed in the country around Peking. In many parts the Christian converts fortified their villages and resisted, sometimes successfully, the

onslaughts of the Boxers. In one place the members of a Roman Catholic congregation were burnt alive in their church; and wherever individual Christians were identified they were cut down. Thirty thousand Boxers were said to have collected at the city of Chochou, and to have compelled the magistrate to stamp with his official seal their proclamations and incantations.

It was not to be supposed that these men would leave the railways, those emblems of foreign influence, untouched; and towards the end of May an attack was made upon the line connecting Peking with Paotingfu. The first assault was made on the works at Fêngt'ai, near Peking, where the Tientsin railway joins the line to Paotingfu. Here were assembled a number of Belgian and other engineers engaged on the works; and for a time the lives of these men were in imminent danger. The Boxers burnt the station, looted and destroyed the workshops, and tore up the railway. On the news reaching Peking of this development of the movement, which up to this time had been confined to attacks on Christian congregations, M. Chamot, the proprietor of the Hôtel de Pékin, and his heroic wife, with five others, started from the capital to effect a rescue of the besieged engineers. This they accomplished, bringing back to Peking thirteen men, nine women, and seven children.

Meanwhile the position of affairs in Peking was going from bad to worse. The people could not, even by Sir C. MacDonald, be any longer said to be civil to foreigners. The Imperial soldiers, who had been ostensibly ordered into the capital for the protection of foreigners, pelted any European who appeared in the streets with stones and insults. In the country districts affairs assumed a still more threatening aspect. A party of foreign employees engaged in railway work at Paotingfu were obliged to fly for their lives, and taking to boats on the river fought their way down to Tientsin, where a remnant of them arrived, the rest having been murdered on the way.

These symptoms of anti-foreign feeling were such as even the Legations could not pass unnoticed; and the foreign representatives telegraphed to the admirals at Taku asking for additional guards. The Tsungli Yamên assumed an attitude of injured innocence at this request, and assured the Ministers that the troops of T'ung Fuhsiang were quite able and willing to protect the lives of the foreign residents in Peking. But the Legations had at last learned to discount the promises and professions of the members of the Yamên, and they persisted in their demand, in response to which 340 men of different nationalities marched into Peking and took up their quarters at the various Legations.

The news of the murder at Yungch'inghsien of two missionaries, Messrs Robinson and Norman, the latter of whom had taken refuge in the local magistrate's office and had been given up by him to the fury of the mob, added a fresh horror to the situation, and aroused serious fears for the safety of the American missionaries at T'ungchow, twelve miles from Peking. A telegram asking for help from these imperilled men met with no other response from the American Minister than a recommendation to employ Chinese soldiers as a guard. In these circumstances an American missionary undertook the rescue. He hired carts in Peking and accompanied them to T'ungchow, where he found his countrymen alive, though in dire peril. With as little delay as possible they started on the return journey; and this heroic missionary had the satisfaction of bringing twenty-four Americans, men, women, and children, into the comparative safety of Peking. This rescue was not effected too soon; for almost simultaneously a Roman Catholic village near T'ungchow was looted and destroyed, many of the converts being murdered, and in two other neighbouring villages between thirty and forty converts were put to death.

It was impossible any longer to conceal the fact that the Boxers were acting in concert with the Imperial troops; and the appointment of Prince Tuan, a notorious Boxer, to the

control of the Tsungli Yamên added an official seal to the alliance. Peking was practically besieged; and in reply to a request for assistance Admiral Seymour started from Tientsin on June 10, with a relief column, consisting of about 1800 marines and bluejackets. This inadequate force started with the expectation of reaching Peking in a few hours; but, as events turned out, they were destined never to see the capital. For the first few miles from Tientsin everything went smoothly, but further on it was found that the railway had been torn up by the Boxers, who, in conjunction with the Imperial forces, were holding the whole country. It soon became obvious that with so small a force it was impossible to break through the crowded ranks of the enemy. It was determined therefore to retire, but it was quickly made plain that the retreat had been cut off. With dauntless courage the column faced the enemy; but its numerical inferiority was such that it could make no impression on the serried ranks of Boxers, who by sheer weight of numbers held the expeditionary force in a trap. Attempts were made to communicate with Tientsin, but the messengers were killed or taken. At last one man more fortunate than the others got through, with the result that a relieving force was sent to the help of Seymour, who eventually returned to Tientsin on June 26.

The news that Seymour was to start for the relief of the Legations on June 10 caused rejoicing at Peking; and many of the residents went to the railway station in the evening in the hope of being able to welcome the expedition. On the following day Mr Sugiyama, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, went to the station with the same object. The day before the disappointed Europeans had been only greeted with jeers by the native troops and others who thronged the station; but events were moving quickly, and when on the 11th Mr Sugiyama appeared he was seized upon by T'ung Fuhsiang's soldiers, "dragged from his cart, and after numerous insults was speared or chopped to death; his heart was cut out, and,

as was reported, was sent to General T'ung Fuhsiang, while his head was fixed to a pole. The mutilated body was partly covered with earth where it lay; and, although the second secretary of the Japanese Legation went to the Yamên on the subject, no effort was made to recover the remains." It was further stated that Prince Tuan publicly congratulated T'ung Fuhsiang on this dastardly murder.

This was the first foreign blood which was shed during the siege of the Legations. But on the succeeding days a massacre of the native Christians, or of such as were suspected of being Christians, began; and the city resounded with the cry of "Kill the foreigners." In response to the vehement remonstrances which were still addressed to the Yamên, the Chinese Ministers affirmed that these outrages were committed by banditti whom they were doing all in their power to suppress. On the 13th the first formal attack on the foreign quarters was made, the objects of assault being the Austrian Legation and the Methodist Episcopal compound. At both points the assaulting forces were met by marines, who charged them with the bayonet, and in spite of their boasted invulnerability put them to flight.

Affairs had now reached a stage when it was necessary for the Chinese government to determine on the line of policy which they intended to pursue. It was well known that the Dowager-Empress was in favour of war *à outrance*; and, when it became noised abroad that she had called an Imperial council to debate the position, it was felt that the die was cast. On June 16 all the Manchu princes, dukes, nobles, and high officials of the Six Boards and Nine Ministries met in Grand Council at the palace. The line adopted by the Dowager-Empress soon became apparent. In opening the proceedings she thus addressed the assembled magnates: "The foreign Powers have browbeaten and persecuted us in such a manner that we cannot endure it any longer. We must therefore combine to fight to the last, to 'save our face' in the eyes of

the world. All our Manchu princes, dukes and nobles, and Ministers, high and low, are unanimous in the determination for war to the knife, and I approve of their patriotic choice."

This vigorous address was applauded to the echo by the Manchu officials present; but it is remarkable to find that most of the Chinese deprecated the idea of declaring war against the Western world. One after another they protested against the unwisdom of such a desperate venture, and pointed out the folly of taking the Boxers' magical powers seriously; and finally the Emperor on his knees begged the Dowager-Empress to pause before she did the country so great a wrong. But to all such advice she was deaf, and even spurned the prostrate Emperor from her feet.

The result of this council was the promulgation of a decree declaring war against the foreign Powers, and the extermination of all foreigners within the frontiers of China. Two members of the council, whose duty it was to forward the murderous decree to the Yangtsze Viceroys, took upon themselves the responsibility of altering the word "exterminate" into "protect." For this offence they were summarily executed by order of the Empress; and "this is the genial old lady who had shortly before kissed Lady MacDonald and Mrs Conger, and continually repeated, 'All one family, all one family!'"

But, though things had reached this pass, official communications were still kept up with the Tsungli Yamên, the officials of which continued to assure the foreign representatives that there was no danger, and that they had both the power and the will to protect the Legations. These assertions were made in face of the facts of the exterminating decree. In no other direction was any attempt made to conceal the real state of affairs. Boxers marched about the streets of Peking breathing out words of slaughter against all foreigners; and Chinese Imperial troops were marched into the capital with the avowed object of attacking the Legations.

In these circumstances the foreign representatives held a

meeting to consider the state of affairs, and with the exception of the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, were unanimous in the opinion that it was necessary to leave Peking. But before any such step was taken it was determined to ask for a collective interview with the princes at the Yamên. To this proposal no reply was received; whereupon Baron von Ketteler declared his determination to go by himself to the Yamên to demand an interview. In company with an interpreter, but without an escort, the Baron started on his ill-starred mission. He had not gone far when a sergeant in charge of one of the military stations in the streets fired a rifle at the Minister at point-blank range and killed him instantly. The interpreter, who was a witness of the murder, was wounded also, but succeeded in making his escape to the Methodist Mission, about a third of a mile from the scene of the murder.

Previous to this event, the Tsungli Yamên had proposed to the foreign representatives that they and their staffs should leave Peking under the protection of a Chinese escort; and there had been some negotiations on the subject. But now all thought of trusting for protection to so treacherous a foe was thrown to the winds; and the siege of the Legations began. Meanwhile the Taku forts, which, in the opinion of the admirals, hindered the relief of the foreign residents in Tientsin and Peking, had been taken (June 17). This act has in some quarters been alleged to have forced the hand of the Chinese government, and thus to have led to the war which might otherwise have been averted. But the dates given above show that the extermination of the foreigners was already resolved on before the attack on the forts took place.

All foreigners in Peking were now collected in the several Legations, with the exception of Bishop Favier and his followers at the Peit'ang Cathedral; and, at the very moment when the Chinese were proposing that the Legation staffs should leave Peking, fire was opened upon the Austrian and French outposts. It is needless here to recapitulate at length the history of the

siege of the Legations. Let it suffice to say that after the murder of Baron von Ketteler the mask of friendship which had been assumed by the Chinese authorities was cast aside, and determined attacks were made upon the Legations, the palace of Prince Su, where the native Christians were collected, and the Peit'ang, where were assembled a mixed crowd of French officers and marines, Italian soldiers, priests, nuns and native converts under the direction of Bishop Favier. On June 26 attacks were made on these positions by combined forces of Boxers and Imperial troops, who threw up entrenchments around the defences raised by the foreigners, from which they at intervals poured shot and shell on, as they believed, their doomed enemies. That they should have regarded them as doomed was only natural; and, had they pushed their advantages to the full, they must inevitably have annihilated the besieged. But for some unaccountable reason, possibly because there were those in authority who did not wish to drive the Powers to desperation, they failed to use their strength to the utmost when the game appeared to be in their hands, and repeatedly withdrew guns from positions commanding the defences. As news came of the advance of a cosmopolitan relieving force from Tientsin, this faltering attitude of the Chinese became more apparent; and during the last few days before the relief, on August 14, they fired guns, or sent peaceful messages and presents of food, in accordance with the prevailing tendencies of the moment.

A report had reached Peking that the relieving force was to start from Tientsin on July 20; but this was not to be. It was not until Aug. 4 that the expedition, consisting of 10,000 Japanese, 4000 Russians, 3000 British, 2000 Americans and a few hundred French and German soldiers, marched northwards towards the capital. Throughout the advance they met with constant opposition from the Imperial soldiers and Boxers, but, being more numerous and better equipped than Seymour's column had been, they were able to make short

work of their opponents. At Yangtsun, Hosiwu, before T'ungchow and elsewhere they engaged the enemy, and in each case put him to flight. In gaining these successes the Japanese troops bore a prominent part; and their organisation and equipment were recognised as being superior to those of any of their allies. Their pre-eminence in artillery was especially noticeable. Handy, ever ready and never weary, they gained for themselves marked distinction, and throughout the campaign they earned the good opinion of both their allies and their enemies.

Severe as had been the sufferings of the foreigners besieged at Peking, they were as nothing compared to the massacres and persecutions endured by missionaries and their converts in the northern provinces. It will be remembered that Yühsien, the anti-foreign Governor of Shantung, had just before the open outbreak of hostilities been transferred to the government of Shansi. With him he carried his intense hatred of the outer barbarians, and, so soon as the edict ordering the extermination of all foreigners reached him, he acted upon it eagerly. A native eye-witness thus describes the horrible massacre which followed:—

"Yühsien was so anxious to be the first to wreak vengeance on his victims that he sent special orders after the Boxers to bring all their captives to T'aiyuenfu 'for trial' first, and not to harm them on the way. When the first batch of prisoners was brought to T'aiyuenfu, therefore, Yühsien ordered them to be brought straight into his yamên, and taken to an archery ground in the rear, and then placed standing at distances of a few feet from each other. The sanguinary Governor then took off his outer official robe and necklace, mounted a horse ready saddled for him, and then taking a long sword from an orderly cantered to the end of the ground. As Yühsien turned his horse towards his victims, standing some 200 feet away, he started at a hand-gallop towards them, swinging his long sword as he swept past them, carrying off four or five

heads in his onrush. Then his horse baulked and would not go further; so Yühsien had to get off his horse, and the rest of those unhappy missionaries were then massacred by the Boxers and soldiers who were present. This was Yühsien's way of setting an example to his myrmidons[1]."

Throughout the province ruled over by Yühsien no mercy was shown to either missionaries or their converts. But it was not everywhere so. In defiance of the orders received from Peking the great Yangtsze Viceroys, Chang Chihtung and Liu K'unyi, befriended the foreigners within their jurisdictions, and offered hospitality to those missionaries and others who, flying from the power of less humane rulers, found themselves within their frontiers.

From a return subsequently made it appears that the number of Protestant missionaries, or members of their families, who were killed or who died from the injuries received during the Boxer uprising of 1899 and 1900, was 188, and of Roman Catholic bishops, priests, and nuns, 44; while the number of foreigners who were killed in Peking during the siege was 76. To these numbers must be added the heavy loss of life sustained by the two relief columns, Admiral Seymour's and the subsequent successful one; and it will be seen how heavy was the indictment against the Dowager-Empress and her advisers for their infamous policy. It was entirely due to their disturbing influence that the rising took shape, and that it was prosecuted with such fiendish cruelty.

With the relief of Peking came the question of negotiations for peace. Though war had never been officially proclaimed, a state of war had plainly existed; and it was necessary that terms should be arranged on which it was possible to renew friendly relations. The first difficulty which presented itself was the question, with whom were the negotiations to be conducted? It appeared that as the Allies entered the southern

[1] S. P. Smith, *China from Within*, p. 87.

gates of the city, the Emperor, the Dowager-Empress, and the court took their departure by one of the northern gates—whither, it was at first uncertain. It soon became known, however, that they had fled to Hsianfu, the capital of the province of Shansi, where it was plain that they intended to stay until peace should be restored. In this emergency Prince Ching, one of the princes of the blood, who had remained in the neighbourhood of Peking, was put forward to open communications with the Legations. But in this, as in all other cases of political difficulty, recourse was had to the veteran statesman Li Hungchang; and on August 5—before the relief of the Legations—an Imperial edict appeared, appointing him plenipotentiary to negotiate for a peaceful settlement with the Powers. Unfortunately Li was at Canton, the capital of his Viceroyalty; and it was some time before he could obey the Imperial summons. A subsequent edict associated Yunglu and Hsü Tung with Prince Ching and Li as Commissioners. This was an act either of folly or insolence. It was well known that Yunglu and Hsü Tung had been active supporters of the Boxer cause, and were bitterly hostile to foreigners. It could not be supposed, therefore, that their nominations would be accepted by the Legations; and finally the commission was confined to Prince Ching and Li with plenipotentiary powers.

From the first, however, progress was slow. The distance which separates Hsianfu from Peking made references difficult; and the concert of the Legations was not by any means harmonious. As might be supposed, Russia was the first openly to break the concord. Her Minister, to the astonishment of his colleagues, announced his intention of withdrawing the Russian garrison and Legation from the capital, and invited his colleagues to do the same, in order, as it was given out, to induce the Emperor and Dowager-Empress to return to Peking. This proposal was rejected by the representatives of the other Powers; and the Russian Minister was left to carry out his own

programme alone. On September 6 he, with his staff and troops, left Peking for Tientsin, to be followed, however, by the American garrison at the end of the same month.

Li Hungchang was quick to perceive that the best way of meeting the inevitable demands for the punishment of the originators of the Boxer movement was to induce the Dowager-Empress to denounce certain of the most notorious of the ringleaders. With this object he presented a memorial to the throne, in response to which an edict appeared which ordered that Princes Chuang and Yi should be cashiered and deprived of rank and office; that Prince Tuan should be deprived of office and be handed over to the Imperial Clansmen's Court for punishment; and that Kangyi and Chao Shuch'iao should be handed over to the Censors' Court for trial.

It is needless to say that these inadequate punishments were at once rejected by the Legations; and, as a basis for negotiations, the foreign Ministers determined that the demands to be enforced should include (1) the due punishment of the officials implicated; (2) the payment of an indemnity; (3) the dismantling of the Taku and other forts between Tientsin and the sea; (4) the prohibition of the importation of firearms; (5) the establishment of permanent Legation guards; (6) the abolition of the Tsungli Yamên, and the appointment of one Minister of Foreign Affairs; (7) the suspension for five years of the provincial examinations in those districts where foreigners had been murdered; and (8) provision for rational intercourse with the Emperor. It was further proposed by Germany that the foreign representatives should name the mandarins to be punished.

At the same time Prince Ching and Li addressed a circular note to the foreign Ministers formulating proposals for a preliminary convention; and it is obvious from these that the Commissioners still failed to recognise the international crime of which the government had been guilty. They proposed that China should express regret at the recent occurrences, and

should promise that they should never recur; that she should pay an indemnity; that the treaties should be revised; that the Tsungli Yamên should resume its functions; that the foreign garrisons should be withdrawn; that an armistice should be declared, and that military action should cease.

In reply to these inadequate propositions, the foreign representatives presented a number of demands, subject to the approval of their governments, as a basis for a preliminary treaty. Among these demands were the following, in addition to those already advanced—that China should erect a monument to Baron von Ketteler on the site of the murder; that the death penalty should be inflicted on the eleven guilty high officials and princes named by the foreign representatives; and that Imperial proclamations should be posted for two years throughout the Empire suppressing the Boxers.

Meanwhile expeditions were undertaken in the neighbourhood of Peking and Tientsin to suppress the disorders which were still rife among the people, the most important of which was a punitive one undertaken to see that justice should be done in the case of the officials of Paotingfu, the capital of the metropolitan province, who had refused protection to foreigners, and whose soldiers had stood idly by while the missionaries were slaughtered and their premises destroyed. After a careful investigation the court-martial sentenced Ting Jung, the provincial treasurer, together with the Tartar General of the city and the Lieut. Colonel of the camp, to death. These three were beheaded. Other expeditions were not so salutary in their effects. In a raid upon Ts'angchou the Germans, instead of executing justice and loving righteousness, plundered the Yamêns of the magistrate and general, and released the Boxer prisoners whom they found in the city gaol, thus introducing the worst elements into the conflict—desire for plunder and the promotion of the cause of disorder.

But in spite of this and other similar exploits, justice was substantially done; and the principal promoters of the Boxer

movement and its attendant horrors suffered the penalties of their deeds. Prince Tuan and Prince Fukuo, who had taken prominent parts in the attacks on the Legations, were sentenced to death; but, in consideration of their Imperial blood, it was agreed that, "if the Emperor saw fit to grant them their lives, they should be exiled to Turkestan and there imprisoned for life, without the possibility of commutation." Prince Chuang, Ying Nien, President of the Board of Censors, and Chao Shuch'iao, President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to commit suicide, which they did, the first on the 21st and the other two on the 24th of February, 1901. Yühsien, the infamous Governor of Shansi, was beheaded on the 22nd of February; and Chi Hsiu, President of the Board of Rites, and Hsü Chêngyu, formerly senior Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, on the 26th. General T'ung Fuhsiang, whose troops took so active a part in the siege of the Legations, was deprived of his office and was banished to the confines of the Empire. A further peculiarly Chinese punishment was inflicted on three men who had died since the outbreak, viz.: Kangyi, Assistant Grand Secretary, Hsü Tung, Grand Secretary, and Li Pinghêng, former Governor of Shantung. As these three were placed by death beyond the reach of the executioner's axe, they were sentenced to posthumous degradation, a fact which was made known to the Empire by a special edict. A reverse proceeding was decreed in the case of the reformers who had been put to death for no other crime than that they had advocated changes in the administrative system. An Imperial edict rehabilitated their memories, and thus rescued their fame from the disgrace of having had to submit to decapitation. These penalties were independent of those inflicted on the provincial mandarins who had emulated their colleagues of the capital in their hatred of foreigners.

The preliminary conditions for the conclusion of peace having thus been complied with, the foreign representatives

with the Chinese Commissioners proceeded to draw up a protocol, which, after much discussion and delay, was finally signed on September 7, 1901. By the terms of this document it was agreed that Prince Chün should proceed to Berlin as Ambassador to convey to the German Emperor the expression of the regrets of the Son of Heaven at the assassination of Baron von Ketteler, in whose memory a commemorative monument bearing an inscription in Latin, German, and Chinese expressing the Emperor's regret for the murder was to be raised on the scene of the crime. A similar mission, headed by Na T'ung, Vice-President of the Board of Revenue, was to be despatched to Tōkiō to apologise for the murder of Mr Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese Legation.

The indemnity to be paid was fixed at 450,000,000 taels, on which 4 per cent. was to be charged until the payment of the capital at the end of thirty-nine years. Further, edicts were to be issued prohibiting for ever, under pain of death, membership in any anti-foreign society, enumerating the punishments inflicted on the guilty, and declaring all viceroys and governors responsible for order in their respective districts. These with the terms already laid down in the final demands of the Powers (pp. 355—6) formed the articles of the protocol. Peace was now re established; and it remained only to draw up revised treaties to complete the negotiations. The British treaty was ratified at Peking on July 28, 1903. It is much to be regretted that the victory of the allies was stained by atrocities committed by certain of the European troops; and that looting, either individual or collective, was general and shameless.

With the signing of the protocol was brought to a close the latest chapter of our relations with China, which may be said to have begun at the conclusion of the campaign of 1860. During the whole of this interval Li Hungchang was prominent in guiding the foreign policy of the government in all emergencies. It was he who managed the difficult relations resulting

from the T'aip'ing rebellion; on the occurrence of the Tientsin massacre it was he who was nominated commissioner to heal the breach; it was he who was appointed to negotiate with Sir Thomas Wade on the position of affairs arising from the murder of Mr Margary; to him fell the unpleasant task of arranging terms of peace after the Franco-Chinese war; and both after the war with Japan and the siege of the Legations it was to him that the country looked for guidance in settling the terms of peace. In minor matters he was equally potent; and during his tenancy of the Viceroyalty of the metropolitan province (1870—1895) his advice was constantly sought and liberally given in all matters of the hour.

For some months before the signing of the protocol his health had been failing; and on the 7th of November, 1901, he was gathered to his fathers. There was a dramatic fitness in this ending of his life, which had been devoted to the service of his country, at the moment when in his old age and after a supreme crisis he had rescued it from the powers of evil, and had helped to launch it anew on a path, let us hope, of peace and progress.

The events at Peking and elsewhere, described above, found a tragic echo on the banks of the distant Amur. The town of Blagovestchensk is one of the largest and most prosperous centres between Irkutsk and the Pacific. Its growth has been rapid and amazing. A few years ago it was but a Cossack outpost, and it now boasts of a population of nearly forty thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly one-fourth were, until July 1900, Chinese. During the siege of the Peking Legations many exaggerated rumours of what was going on at that capital reached Blagovestchensk; and the inhabitants both of that town and of the Chinese settlement on the opposite side of the river became much excited. The Chinese on the southern bank of the Amur beat drums and waved banners as though preparing for an attack; and it was said that some stray bullets dropped in the streets of Blagovestchensk. At

these appearances of hostility the governor, General Chitchegoff, became greatly alarmed—the garrison at the time not numbering more than sixty men—and ordered the Chinese inhabitants to cross the river to the south bank. The Chinese expressed every willingness to obey the order, but pointed out that they had no means of crossing the river. In reply the Governor issued an ukase giving them twenty-four hours to make the passage. When at the end of that time the Chinese, in their inability to move, were still found in the streets of Blagovestchensk, the governor gave an order which has brought indelible disgrace on him and his country's cause in the East. Without perhaps considering the probable result, he commanded the Cossacks to drive the Chinese, men, women, and children, in batches to the water's edge and to force them at the point of the bayonet into the river. This was literally done. The Cossacks marched backwards and forwards through the town, and having collected a sufficient number of their victims drove them into the river and to death. To the cries and pleadings of the wretched people they paid not the slightest attention, and bayonetted those who in their terror tried to regain the bank from which they had been thrust. For two days this brutal massacre went on, until, as is admitted by the authorities, 4500 persons had been drowned in the river. For days the waters of the Amur were full of the bodies of the dead; and men were employed in pushing out into the stream the corpses which had become entangled in the weeds on the bank.

But the end was not yet. In answer to the appeals of the governor, reinforcements began to arrive; and, when a sufficient number of troops had been collected, an expedition was sent into Manchuria. Warned by the fate of their countrymen the Chinese took to flight at the approach of the Russians, who burned and destroyed all towns, villages and homesteads within a radius of fifty miles, and thus added a further slice of territory to the Russian Empire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ANNAM AND THE WEST.

As in the case of the majority of semi-independent States in Eastern Asia, the early history of Annam is shrouded in considerable mystery. For many centuries after the Christian era it constituted a more or less loyal appanage to the Chinese throne. The relation between the State and its suzerain was diversified by rebellions against the Imperial power and temporary ruptures in the normal state of affairs. To Europeans Annam was a *terra incognita* until the time of Marco Polo, when that traveller visited the province of Chiampa; and for about two centuries after this date the history of the country is a blank. In the 15th century a violent rebellion broke out against the Chinese ruler; and success so far attended the action of the rebels that they elected their leader, Le Loi, to be king over them. To this loss of territory China could not submit without a further effort, but finally she was compelled virtually to acknowledge the independence of Annam, though she "saved her face" by stipulating that the King should send triennially tribute-bearing missions to the Court of Peking.

But the spirit of rebellion which had rejected the dominion of China was still alive in the country; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century an uprising took place which nearly cost

Le Loi's successor his throne. This catastrophe was averted by the skill and bravery of the General Nguyen Dzo, who in recognition of his signal services to the State was created hereditary Viceroy of the kingdom. In this position General Nguyen Dzo and his successors exercised much the same power as that wielded by the Shōguns of Japan; and, as in the latter country, the effect of the system was to put the King into the background and to throw the real power into the hands of the Viceroy. Meanwhile a cadet of the Nguyen family had been appointed governor of the province of Chiampa, one of whose descendants in the seventeenth century raised the standard of rebellion and successfully established the independence of his province. Annam was thus divided into two kingdoms, the northern portion being ruled by the Le dynasty and the southern by that of the Nguyen clan. Subsequently a rebellion broke out in the northern province of Tonquin, where Chien Tong, the Le sovereign, exercised only a partial sway. The rebellion was successful; and Chien Tong, flying before the victorious rebels, found sanctuary at the court of China. Flushed with this easy triumph the rebels advanced southwards, and, without much difficulty, took possession of southern Annam, and drove King Gialong into exile. Circumstances guided the fugitive monarch to seek refuge with the court of Siam, where he was courteously received; but he soon learned that his application for aid in the recovery of the kingdom was not to be granted. The Emperor of Siam was naturally unwilling to risk a conflict for such a cause with so powerful a foe as the then ruler of Annam.

But, though the Siamese were unwilling to champion the cause of King Gialong, there were others at Bangkok who saw a possible way of furthering their own aims by supporting the cause of the deposed monarch. Bangkok had long been the site of a large Jesuit mission; and, true to their habitual policy, the priests belonging to it were ever ready to dabble in politics. The advances which had been made by England in

India had aroused a desire among these preachers of the Gospel to add to French influence in Cochin China, as a counterbalance to the British power in Asia; and they thought they saw in the position of Gialong a means of furthering their designs. Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine was the prime mover in the scheme; and it was at his suggestion that Gialong consented to the bishop taking his eldest son, the Crown Prince, to Paris, to plead the cause of his father at the court of Louis XVI (1787). In support of the plea for intervention, the bishop showed how mightily the power of England had increased by her possession in India, and how that equilibrium could be readjusted only by the establishment of a French Empire in Cochin China. As a further inducement he pointed out that by the occupation of Cochin China a severe blow would be dealt against the British trade with India and China, which would inevitably fall to a great extent into the hands of French merchants. These inducements were sufficiently potent to gain the desired object; and on November 20, 1787, a treaty between France and Cochin China was signed, by which Louis XVI bound himself to equip and send out under the orders of the King of Cochin China a fleet of twenty men of war, together with five European and two Colonial regiments. The French King also engaged to furnish a sum of one million dollars to fill the coffers of Gialong.

On the other part the King of Cochin China covenanted to supply a fleet of fourteen men-of-war, fully equipped, for the use of the Allies so soon as peace should be reestablished. He further undertook to cede to France in perpetuity the port and territory of Hansan with the adjacent islands of Faifar and Haiwên; as well as to supply men and materials for the construction of the forts, bridges, roads, etc., which might be necessary for the protection of these acquisitions. A further article provided that, if at any time France should be engaged in war with any part of India, Cochin China should supply a levy of 14,000 men to support the French

forces; while, if France should ever be attacked in Cochin China, the King should furnish at least 60,000 men to serve under the French banners.

But the stars fought in their courses against the project. Before it was possible for Louis XVI to put in force any of the provisions of the treaty, the Revolution broke out which overthrew the monarchy, and brought the unfortunate King to the scaffold. But, though thus deprived of royal support, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine was by no means inclined to give up his project; and by the application of funds, with which he was well supplied, he collected a motley body of adventurers who were only too glad to serve any cause which paid them. Thus supported, the bishop landed in Cochin China in 1789 with a considerable force, which, compared with any army which could be brought against it, was well armed and disciplined. These advantages at once gave the invaders a superiority over their foes; and, after a somewhat lengthy campaign, victory declared for them. The rebels were completely defeated; and Gialong was restored to the throne (1799). But this signal success availed nothing so long as the northern province of Tonquin was unconquered. So soon, therefore, as the foreign legion could be spared, it was marched northwards, and not without some difficulty restored this province also to Gialong (1804).

Gialong showed his appreciation of the services which had been rendered to him by the French by lavishing gifts upon the officers; and, so long as he lived, every indulgence was shown to both officers and men, and every latitude was allowed to the missionaries in their work of conversion. But on the death of this monarch, in 1820, a marked change came over the situation. By the will of Gialong, the son of the Crown Prince was passed over in favour of a favourite younger son of the King, Minhmang by name. This perversion of the natural order aroused the bitter resentment of the disappointed heir, who raised a rebellion with the intention of seizing the

throne. The royal army was victorious; but the struggle left much bitter feeling. It was Minhmang's conviction that the French had supported his rival in his efforts to dispossess him; and, reversing the policy of his father, he persecuted the missionaries and their converts to the death. To such lengths did his hatred lead him that in 1833 he issued an edict forbidding any more Frenchmen to land on his shores and threatening with death those who refused to withdraw. Many missionaries refused to obey the orders of the King, and preferred to suffer death rather than to desert their converts. One was strangled, one was beheaded, and one, Monsieur Marchand, was tortured to death. A few years later (1838), seven missionaries were executed; but no record remains of the number of converts who at this time met violent deaths.

Under Thientri, Minhmang's son and successor (1840), the same system of persecution prevailed. Missionaries were judicially murdered; and every form of obstruction was put in the way of their work. At last the outcry caused by these atrocities reached the ears of the French authorities; and a frigate was sent to demand the release of the imprisoned missionaries. This was granted; but the pressure was no sooner withdrawn than the persecutions began again. A second visit paid by Admiral Lapierre in 1847 met with a still less favourable result. The admiral had but a small force at his command, and was quite unable to march inland on the capital of Hué. His threats sounded in the ears of Thientri like a *brutum fulmen*, and he treated them as such; and the admiral, unable to effect any useful purpose, steamed away.

The death of Thientri, in 1848, brought no relief to the persecuted Christians. For two years a fierce war of succession was waged between Tuduc, to whom though a younger son the late monarch had bequeathed the throne, and the legitimate heir, Nuphong. So soon as this contention had been set at

rest, Tuduc at once commanded the missionaries to abstain from all efforts to proselytise, and threatened them with death in case of refusal. Nor was this an idle threat. Feeling himself safe from attack so long as the French were unable to land an army, he openly waged war against the Christians, and offered an ascending scale of rewards for the heads of native converts and of foreign missionaries. News of these hostile acts having reached Bangkok, the French Minister at that court despatched a man-of-war to the bay of Tourane, with instructions to the captain to urge on Tuduc the advisability of adopting a more merciful and conciliatory course. In obedience to these instructions the French captain handed a despatch, addressed to the King, to the native officer commanding at Tourane, with a request that he would forward it to the capital. This request, far from being granted, only caused the commandant to prepare for battle. The French captain, nothing loath, opened fire on the forts, and having landed a force captured the position and threatened to blow up the fort if his letter were not at once forwarded to the King. This action had the immediate effect desired; but the advantage thus gained was neutralised by the fact that the French captain was compelled by the call of other duties to leave the coast without taking any further action.

An equally futile result followed another attempt, in 1856, to induce the King to put an end to the persecutions. In this case a message succeeded by no action served to confirm the King in his impression that the French were powerless to do more than capture an occasional fort on the coast. At the same time events in China were leading up to the war of 1857; and Tuduc was instructed from Peking to have nothing to do with the outer barbarians, and to look to China for support against them in case of need. These instructions, chiming in with his own inclinations, encouraged the King in his persecutions; and both the missionaries and their converts were subjected to severe penalties.

A knowledge of these facts having reached Paris, the Emperor Napoleon despatched a force to Annam for the purpose of compelling Tuduc to grant toleration to the Christians in his dominions. A repetition of the same sequence of events followed on the first arrival of the French fleet. An ultimatum was sent to the King, and was left unanswered. A landing at Tourane was effected, and the forts were occupied; but, beyond this, the French admiral was powerless as regarded the capital. He had no force with which he could march inland, and he was obliged to confine himself to the coast. Another important city, however, was sufficiently near to the sea-board to enable his ships to dominate it; and Admiral Rigault de Génouilly, therefore, determined to embark his troops and attack Saigon in southern Annam. The venture was successful. The ships were able to steam up the river and to lie within easy range of the city. An attack was delivered; and in a few hours the French tricolour was floating over the city.

This success raised the demands of the French, who considered themselves to be in a position to demand religious toleration in Annam, the opening of all ports to foreign commerce, the cession in perpetuity of Saigon to France, and the recognition of the rights of France over Tourane granted by the treaty of 1787. Though willing to make certain concessions to the invaders, the King and his advisers considered these demands to be excessive, and rejected them categorically. Again France was unable to make any further move to enforce her demands; and the North China campaign of 1860 still further reduced her power of attack. On the conclusion of peace, however, Admiral Charnier appeared before Saigon with a larger and efficient force, and at once taking the field gained some important advantages in Southern Annam.

The appearance of a leader pretending to represent the Le dynasty in Tonquin impaired Tuduc's capacity for offering successful resistance to the French forces; and, despairing

of success, he sent plenipotentiaries to Saigon to conclude peace with the invaders. As the result of this mission a treaty was signed (June 5, 1862) between the two contracting parties, by which subjects of France and Spain were granted the privilege of following the rites of Christianity in the kingdom of Annam; and the three provinces of Bienhoa, Giadinh, and Mytho were ceded absolutely to France. Further, in case of any other foreign nation wishing to make a treaty with Annam or threatening to attack that kingdom, the King bound himself to send an envoy to the French Emperor, stating the case and submitting to his decision; the three ports of Tourane, Balat, and Quangau were opened for trade to the merchants of France and Spain; and the King of Annam agreed to pay a war indemnity of 4,000,000 francs for expenses incurred.

The treaty having been signed by the King with the view of liberating his troops for the suppression of the pretender in Tonquin, that end was no sooner accomplished than he renewed his persecution of the native Christians and stirred up strife against the French in the southern provinces. It was impossible that this state of affairs should be allowed to continue; and in 1867 Admiral Grandier took forcible possession of the three provinces of Vinhlung, Chandoc, and Hantien. Against this aggressive action the King protested, and went the length of appealing to the Emperor of China against the French. But, as usual, he found that trusting in China was trusting to a broken reed, and he could do nothing but submit to the further loss of territory.

But the difficulties of the King of Annam were not over. His northern frontier was disturbed by fugitive bands of T'aip'ing rebels, who, having been driven out of the Yangtsze valley, had moved southward and had crossed the border into Tonquin. Against these marauders, as well as against the pirates which infested the coast, the French proposed (1868) to Tuduc that they should take joint action. But the aggressive tendency of the French had thoroughly alarmed Tuduc, who

curtly declined the help they proffered. The Chinese also were disturbed by the projected advance of the tricolour in the provinces on her border, and, with the consent of Tuduc, despatched mandarins to represent the suzerainty of China over Tonquin. With this support at their back, the Annamese officials showed a bold front to the French; and, when Captain Senez, commanding a frigate, presented himself at Haiphong and Hanoi, the governors of those towns refused to receive him, with the remark that he had no right to be there at all. At Bacninh he fared even worse, for, finding himself in that city with only a guard of fifteen men, in the midst of a hostile garrison of Chinese troops, he was obliged to take refuge in the citadel of the town, from which virtual imprisonment he was only released in consequence of the reported arrival of a French force for his deliverance (1872).

The flotilla in question, however, proved to be of a more peaceful nature. It had long been an open secret that the French were desirous of opening up the Red River, which, rising in the Chinese province of Yunnan, runs into the sea in the gulf of Tonquin. Among the adventurers who advocated this project was a certain Monsieur Dupuis, who, having learned that a supply of arms would be welcome to the Viceroy of Yunnan in his campaign against the Muhammadan rebels, proposed to the Viceroy of Canton that he should give him a letter of authorisation to ascend the river. The expedition was not without its dangers. The Annamese authorities were vehemently opposed to it; and Dupuis deemed it advisable to enlist the services of 200 men drilled and armed with rifles in support of his cause. He knew also that, so long as he sailed under the Chinese flag and carried an authorisation from the Viceroy of Canton, the Annamese would be chary in molesting him. He determined, therefore, to make the attempt, even at the risk of having to resist force by force.

For the time being he placed himself under the protection of Captain Senez, who tried to enlist the help of the Governor

of the province of Quangyen. But that official, though treating the French with courtesy, refused to give Dupuis any aid, declined altogether to sanction the expedition up the river on his own authority, and further pointed out that Dupuis had not even the support of his own government. To remedy this default, Captain Senez addressed a letter to the Governor, in which he wrote, "I declare that I am authorised by the Governor of Saigon to say that the French government would view with very great satisfaction the authorisation by the government of Annam of M. Dupuis's expedition to Yunnan for the purpose of opening and establishing fresh commercial relations." This letter not producing the desired effect, Captain Senez wrote again, plainly telling the Governor that Dupuis would certainly proceed on his voyage whether with or without the Governor's sanction. This second appeal did not move the Governor from his *non possumus* attitude; and he declared that with the sanction of the King alone could the expedition be permitted. Things having thus arrived at a deadlock, and Senez being unwilling to implicate his government in the venture, returned to Saigon, leaving Dupuis to his own resources. The appeal to force was still left him; so without further hesitation he led his flotilla up the river, and reached Hanoi without having encountered any active resistance. Here he met with unexpected support. The Chinese commandant, learning that Dupuis was carrying arms and ammunition to the Governor of Yunnan, at once proffered his help, and arranged for hiring light-draught junks, into which the cargoes could be transhipped, and which were such as might traverse with safety the upper reaches of the river. With these vessels Dupuis successfully reached Manhao, the highest point at which the river was navigable.

Although the rebellion in Yunnan, which was the moving cause that had induced the Governor of that province to encourage Dupuis's expedition, had in the meantime been suppressed, Dupuis's reception was none the less cordial; and the

Governor even went the length of giving him a guard of soldiers, who wore the uniform of the province, to protect him in case of emergency. With that eye to the main chance which commonly actuated the conduct of Dupuis, he on his return journey loaded his vessels with copper and other minerals, and without further adventure returned quickly to Hanoi. Here he found that the hostility of the Annamese authorities had increased rather than diminished, and that the merchants who had supplied his flotilla with provisions had all been cast into prison. The liberation of these men was the first demand made by the traveller. But to this as to other requests the Governor declared himself powerless to assent without the expressed sanction of the King.

This was more than Dupuis could brook; and he promptly landed a force of 350 men with two field-pieces to attack the citadel. This determined line of conduct immediately produced the desired result; and without further hesitation the merchants were liberated. Having gained this bloodless victory, Dupuis assumed the airs of a conquering general, and issued a proclamation to the natives in which he exhorted them to pursue their callings quietly without taking heed to the suggestions of agitators, and ended by assuring them that he was their true friend. Feeling that the position was one of comparative security, Dupuis determined to return to Yunnan and to carry to that province a cargo of salt. In Annam, as in China, the salt trade is a government monopoly; and this intention aggravated, therefore, the official hostility to the doings of the Frenchman. The sailing of his flotilla was the signal for opening fire upon the vessels from the shore; and so severe was the attack that Dupuis thought it advisable to return to his anchorage. In furtherance of his action, the Governor of Hanoi published a proclamation protesting against this infringement of government rights, and threatening all those who might supply the vessels with condign punishment. So serious was the affair considered that Tuduc referred the matter to Peking.

He had the satisfaction of finding the Chinese authorities in complete accord with him. The situation had thus become so critical that Dupuis determined to hoist the tricolour instead of the Chinese flag and to apply to Saigon for help.

On the other hand Tuduc appealed to the same source of authority for protection against Dupuis. The dilemma was a serious one. It was as plain as treaties could make it that Dupuis had no right to invade the Red River; and yet the advantages he had already gained were not lightly to be thrown aside. At the same time, also, the Duc de Broglie, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the French Republic, was instructing Admiral Dupré, who was commanding on the station, that he was not in any circumstances to become embroiled with Annam. In these difficulties Dupré wrote to the King, proposing to send a gunboat to Hanoi to enquire into matters on the spot. This he was the more inclined to do since a report had reached him that Tuduc had applied to Hongkong for help against the French. To this proposal the King objected, but finally agreed that a French officer should proceed to Hanoi to investigate the dispute. This partial consent was twisted by Dupré, in a telegram to Paris, into an invitation to the French to interfere in the matter. In support of this misrepresentation he sent a further telegram to the Quai d'Orsay, in which occurred the following passage, "Le Tonkin est ouvert de fait par le succès de l'entreprise Dupuis. Effet immense dans commerce Anglais, Allemand, Américain; nécessité absolue d'occuper Tonkin avant la double invasion dont ce pays est menacé par les Européens et par les Chinois, et s'assurer de cette route unique." This telegram overcame any scruples which may have been felt by the Duc de Broglie; and permission was promptly given for the despatch of a force to settle the dispute at Hanoi.

Fortunately for the prosecution of this scheme, a man was ready at hand who was eminently fitted to command such an expedition as was contemplated. Francis Garnier had already

made a name for himself as a successful explorer in Western China. He had accompanied de Lagrée on his expedition up the Mekong and through Yunnan to the Yangtsze, and had subsequently taken part in the defence of Paris in the war of 1870. At the time spoken of (1873) he was at Shanghai ready for any stratagems or spoils which might come in his way; and it was with much satisfaction that he received a letter from the French admiral offering him the command of the expedition. With ready zeal he hastened to Saigon, and adopted with enthusiasm Dupré's views of the necessity of expelling the Chinese from the valley of the Red River and of annexing Tonquin. In furtherance of these objects Dupré wrote to the Viceroys of Yunnan and Canton advising them, in their own interests and in the interests of all concerned, to cause the Chinese troops to retreat beyond the frontier.

It is needless to say that this advice was not acted upon, as the French were subsequently to find out to their cost. In face of certain opposition, Garnier started on his ill-fated expedition at the head of a force of between two and three hundred men, and escorted by two small gunboats. In spite of the small force with which he was supported he assumed the attitude of an ambassador, and addressed a letter to the King of Annam in which he stated the various grievances against the Annamese authorities which he had come to redress. In this document it is noticeable that the Dupuis question, which was really the one in dispute, was thrust into the background, and an entirely new position was taken up. Garnier divided his complaints into three heads; (1) the attempt of the King to enlist the sympathies of the Hongkong authorities; (2) the bad treatment of the native Christians; and (3) the impossibility of leaving closed an easy means of communication, such as the Red River afforded, between the province of Yunnan and the sea. Garnier's real view of his mission was allowed to leak out in a letter to a friend, in which he spoke of his

own arrival in Tonquin as the admission of a wolf into the Annamese fold.

Garnier arrived at Hanoi on the 5th of November, 1873, and had no sooner landed than he demanded from the Governor a position for his troops where they would be safe from a surprise, and a dwelling suitable to his rank. At the same time he gave notice that he should insist on the Red River being opened to trade. The Governor naturally declined to discuss this point, which he correctly averred should be referred to Hué. He, however, handed over an entrenched camp near the city as a camping ground for Garnier's soldiers. Garnier, on the other hand, showed an overweening desire to assume a position which did not belong to him; and so strained were the relations between the two that the Governor deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation in which he forbade the natives to hold any communication with the French. As a counterblast to this, Garnier placarded the city with a notice contradicting the statements and arguments of the Governor, and further presented him with the draft of a commercial treaty which he was to accept under penalty of war. The terms of this treaty were concise, and consisted of the following five articles:

(1) The Red River is to be open to trade from November 15, 1873. (2) It will be exclusively retained for the navigation of French and Chinese vessels. (3) The customs dues are fixed at three per cent. *ad valorem*. (4) For vessels coming from Saigon the customs dues shall be one and a half per cent. (5) For vessels coming from the Chinese province of Yunnan the customs dues shall be likewise reduced to one and a half per cent.

To this document the Governor made the only possible reply, namely, that he had no authority to discuss any question but the one point of the dispute with Dupuis. To this answer Garnier replied by an ultimatum, in which he declared that, if the treaty were not accepted and signed by November 19,

he would storm the citadel and make the Governor a prisoner. This was no idle boast; for on the morning of the 20th the two gunboats opened fire on the citadel, which was taken by the troops without the loss of a single man. So rapid and unexpected was the outbreak of hostilities that it seemed certain that the whole district would fall before the French arms. The city of Hungyen surrendered without firing a shot; and the fortress of Ninhbinh yielded with equal docility. The subsequent fall of Namdinh made Garnier master of the delta.

But it was more difficult to hold these conquests than to make them; and Garnier was alarmed at the gathering of the Annamese forces which were collected in the neighbourhood of Hanoi. That these fears were justified soon became apparent. On the 21st of December an attack was made on the citadel by a large army of Annamese. The small force at Garnier's disposal made it impossible to man the walls, and he therefore determined to lead a sortie against the besiegers. At first the movement was attended by success; but Garnier impetuously followed too far and was killed, gallantly leading on his men. M. Balny, who led another column to the attack, shared the same fate; and the troops were driven back into the citadel in confusion.

The position of the garrisons at Hanoi and the delta towns was now well-nigh desperate; and Admiral Dupré despatched M. Philastre to Hanoi to come to some peaceable arrangement with the Annamese government if such were possible. After paying a visit to the capital, Philastre went to Hanoi, and as a first step ordered the evacuation of all its forts in the delta. He had already created a favourable impression on the mind of Tuduc and his ministers; and this removal of the French garrisons from the conquered fortresses had still further ingratiated him. When therefore he broached the subject of a treaty he found the suggestions favourably received; and on March 15, 1874, he had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty by which peace was, at all events for the time being,

secured. By this treaty France acknowledged "la souveraineté du Roi de l'Annam et son entire indépendance vis-à-vis de toute puissance étrangère quelle qu'elle soit," and engaged to give all necessary support to Annam in case of that kingdom being disturbed by foreign or domestic foes. In return the King engaged to conform his foreign policy to that of France. France was further to supply Annam with ships, men, and arms, and with military and naval instructors to drill the native troops. By Article V, Annam ceded to France all territory actually occupied by her, and agreed to pay an indemnity for the expenses to which the French government had been put. Full liberty was granted to the native Christians in the exercise of their religion; and the ports of Thinnai, Ninhnai, and the town of Hanoi were opened to trade. Consuls or agents were to be established at these ports, and escorts were to be allowed to attend them.

As a supplement to this document a commercial treaty was signed in the following August, by which it was agreed that France should put at the disposition of the Annamese authorities a sufficient staff to manage the Custom House, and that no other foreigner but a Frenchman should be engaged in the service. So far as paper and ink could arrange matters, France now stood commercially in the position of a favoured nation in Tonquin; nevertheless for more than a year not a single French ship entered the Red River, while eleven English, six German, and 116 Chinese vessels availed themselves of the new privilege.

So much had been gained by peaceable measures. But M. Philastre's methods were soon disregarded. The French government was recovering from the war of 1870, and, having entered upon a policy of colonisation, determined to claim a protectorate over Tonquin. At this time M. Rochechouart was the French Minister at Peking; and it became his duty to inform Prince Kung of the position into which affairs were drifting in Annam. But in face of the suzerainty which China

possessed over Annam the Minister felt difficulty in broaching the subject of a protectorate, and in his own words he "glissait sur cette question." The Annamese were, however, alarmed; and, in order to secure the support of China in the case of hostilities, Tuduc sent a tributary mission to Peking with presents and a letter of fealty. The Chinese government, recognising the special meaning of the mission at this juncture, accorded it a ready welcome and formally emphasised the position of the King as a vassal of China, by laying stress on the fact that "la Chine ne pouvait refuser protection et assistance à son vassal."

Meanwhile events were marching apace. M. Waddington conveyed to the Governor of Saigon instructions to establish a protectorate over Tonquin. But this measure, which was regarded with a light heart at the Quai d'Orsay, appeared full of difficulty to the officials on the spot. A rebellion had broken out in Tonquin; and interference by France would necessarily mean the employment of much larger forces than were available. Besides, Tuduc had appealed for help to Peking; and troops had been sent across the frontier. A conflict against the rebels would mean therefore a war with China; and this in existing circumstances was not to be thought of. With the assistance of China, Tuduc succeeded in suppressing the rebellion; and the cordiality between the two countries was increased by the event and by the subsequent mission of thanks which was sent to Peking.

In these circumstances both the French Minister at Peking and the Governor of Saigon were of opinion that France would be obliged either to evacuate the country or to impose a protectorate over Tonquin *vi et armis*. The second alternative recommended itself to the French government; and M. de Freycinet proposed to send an expedition of 3000 men to support the troops who were already on the spot. Although everything was done, including direct denials, to keep these preparations secret, rumours of the intention spread abroad

and reached the ears of the Marquis Tsêng, who at once entered a dignified protest against any such action, and asked for information as to the truth of the report. No serious notice was taken of this communication; but shortly afterwards General Chanzy, the French ambassador at St Petersburg, received instructions to explain matters to the Marquis Tsêng, who was at that capital. This the general did in these terms, "Il est nécessaire que le gouvernement Chinois se rende bien compte que l'Annam, et par conséquent sa dépendance le Tonkin, se trouvent aujourd'hui affranchis de tout lien quelconque avec une Puissance autre que la France."

Matters had now reached a pass which threatened an outbreak of hostilities between France and China; and in July, 1881, the French Chamber voted the supplies demanded by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire for the despatch of an expedition to Annam. Again the Marquis Tsêng pressed for an explanation, and warned the French government that the invasion of Tonquin would provoke "grande inquiétude à la Cour de Peking." By way of reply to this remonstrance the French government sent instructions to the Governor of Saigon, directing him to present a treaty to the King of Annam for his immediate signature, and informing him that Admiral Pierre was on his way to take command of the troops destined for service in Tonquin. So strained had the relations now become that the Governor of Saigon thought it necessary to reinforce the garrison at Hanoi with a body of troops under the command of Captain Rivière. Twelve vessels of war accompanied this officer, whose instructions were explicit that he should avoid all hostilities so far as possible, and that on no account was he to cross swords with the Imperial Chinese troops.

In April, 1882, Rivière arrived at Hanoi; and the appearance of the fleet which he brought with him aroused the greatest alarm among the Annamese officials. They closed the gates of the citadel and summoned large bodies of troops into the

neighbourhood of the city to be available in case of need. The attitude assumed by Rivière did nothing to allay the suspicions of the mandarins. With considerable brusqueness he presented six demands upon them, viz.: (1) the abolition of all transit dues; (2) free passage for all French ships through all the waterways of Annam; (3) the transfer to the French of the various ports between Hanoi and the sea; (4) re-constitution of the Customs Service; (5) assistance to be afforded to the flotilla in the destruction of the piratical bands which haunted the banks of the Red River; (6) the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonquin.

As might have been anticipated, the Governor declared himself unable to entertain or to discuss such demands. Thereupon Captain Rivière presented an ultimatum, in which he gave the Governor till 8 o'clock the next morning to decide whether he would yield the demands stated or accept the arbitrament of war. Being powerless to do otherwise, he chose the second alternative; and Rivière, as good as his word, opened the attack at the hour named. Without much difficulty, but with considerable slaughter inflicted on the Annamese, he captured the citadel. But this was but the beginning of troubles to the French. Rivière's precipitate conduct had placed the Governor of Saigon in a difficult position. He had not sufficient men to hold the delta, and he was well aware that, even if the home government should sanction reinforcements, it must be a long time before they could arrive. The course he pursued, therefore, was to disavow Rivière's conduct, and to promise the restoration of the citadel of Hanoi.

But Rivière had got the bit between his teeth, and though restoring part of the citadel he refused to evacuate the key of the position. In this dilemma Tuduc appealed to Peking for aid against the invaders, with the result that the Chinese garrisons at Bacninh and Sontay were strengthened, and the "Black Flags"—a guerilla force of bandits—were encouraged

to attack and molest the French. Meanwhile reinforcements from France began to arrive; and Rivière was once more able to take the field. With the assistance of the navy he captured Honggai, at the mouth of the bay of Alung, and then proceeded to attack Namdinh. This fortress he also took, and further succeeded in resisting an attack upon Hanoi undertaken by a combined force of Chinese and Annamese. But the enemy, though defeated, were nothing daunted. They renewed their attack, and harassed the invaders by cutting off small detach ments of isolated men. Animated by an intense hostility, they issued a proclamation addressed to the "French freebooters," and warning them that if they did not evacuate the land they would be destroyed in a general cataclysm. With the intention of fulfilling their own prophecy, the Annamese renewed their attack on Hanoi—an effort which, though defeated, showed the defenders that their position was one of great danger. As Rivière wrote at the time:—"La situation n'est pas sans une certaine gravité. Nous sommes pris entre ces bandes nombreuses avec les soldats chinois de Bacninh et de Sontay; et la saison, plus encore que le nombre restreint de nos forces, ne nous permet pas de recommencer fréquemment les opérations comme celle de ce matin, opération dont le résultat lui-même n'est pas assez important. Il est très probable que dans les villages déjà réoccupés le feu de rive gauche recommencera la nuit prochaine."

Fully alive to the importance of doing something to check the power of the enemy he determined to make an attack on Phuhoai, a stronghold in the direction of Sontay. At the head of a force consisting of 400 marines and 100 sailors Rivière marched to the attack. For a time all went well with the attacking force; but at a point where the small column encountered some marshy ground a heavy fire was opened upon it by a concealed party of sharpshooters. This sudden attack threw the column into confusion; and, though Rivière and the other officers did all that was possible to restore order,

the confusion became worse confounded, and ended in a complete rout. Four officers, of whom Rivière was one, and 50 men were left dead on the field; and the remainder of the expedition, hotly pursued by the "Black Flags," stayed not their flight until they reached the shelter of the citadel of Hanoi. A few days before the catastrophe the French Chamber had decided to send reinforcements to Tonquin, and had voted £200,000 for the required operations.

The position of the French in Tonquin was now sufficiently grave; and active preparations were made in France to meet the difficulty. General Bouët was given command of the troops; and Monsieur Harmand was appointed Civil Commissioner. The policy pursued by General Bouët was to await the arrival of reinforcements before taking the field, and meanwhile to fortify the positions occupied. This attitude was regarded, and rightly regarded, by the Annamese as a sign of weakness; and, encouraged by the general's inaction, they attacked the garrisons of Haiphong and Namdinh. These onslaughts were successfully resisted; and a sortie was made which had the effect of clearing the neighbourhoods of the fortresses from the enemy's sharpshooters.

On arriving at Hanoi, M. Harmand at once issued a proclamation "aux hommes du peuple, marchands, lettrés et mandarins du Tonkin," in which he lauded the power and good intentions of France, and declared his desire to restore peace to their much distracted country. "Notre intention toutefois n'est pas de conquérir votre pays. La France veut seulement que les mandarins qui vous gouvernent soient tous des hommes justes et intègres. Nous voulons aussi que les impôts que vous payez servent à améliorer l'état de votre pays, à augmenter le bien-être général, à assurer la sécurité des personnes et du commerce, qui sera libre dans l'intérieur de toutes les provinces."

This proclamation in no way softened the opposition of the Annamese to the presence of the French; and they vowed

their intention to drive the barbarians into the sea. So actively hostile did the enemy show themselves that General Bouët determined to lead a sortie against them. At the head of 1500 men he led an attack on the villages surrounding Hanoi, and to his surprise found that the Annamese forces, backed up by Chinese troops, formed a very different material from that which had been presented by the bandits who had been accustomed to fly before Garnier's and Rivière's small bands of marines. Against these new soldiers General Bouët delivered his attack in vain, and at length was obliged to retreat within the defences of Hanoi. In face of this defeat it was some consolation to the disheartened Frenchmen to learn that the important towns of Haidzuong and Phubinh had been captured by another detachment.

The arrival of 7000 men from France encouraged M. Harmand to send an ultimatum to the successor of Tuduc, who had lately died at Hué. In this document he demanded the King's instant assent to the fulfilment of the treaty of 1874, and the acceptance of the French Protectorate over Tonquin. The result of this ultimatum, coupled with the capture of the city of Hué, was to induce the King to sign a treaty (August 25, 1882), the principal clauses of which are thus summarised by Captain Norman.

(1) Annam recognised the French protectorate, and bound herself to hold no communication with any foreign Powers except through the intermediary of the French Resident at the Court of Hué. (2) The province of Binhtuam in the south of Annam, bordering on the French possession of Saigon, was ceded in perpetuity to France. (3) The forts on the Hué river, guarding the entrance to the capital, to be permanently occupied by French troops, as also all forts the possession of which is judged by the French commander to be necessary for the preservation of peace in Tonquin. (4) Immediate recall of all Annamese troops serving in Tonquin. (5) The customs of Annam to be placed under French administration.

(6) Opening of the ports of Quinhon and Tourane to commerce. (7) Construction of a road and telegraph line from Saigon to Hanoi. (8) The French Minister to have the right of private audience with the King. (9) French Residents, with suitable garrisons, to be appointed to all the chief towns. (10) French Residents to have jurisdiction over the Annamese authorities in all districts, as well as over all foreigners. (11) France charges herself with the task of opening the Red River to commerce, and of suppressing all piracy and rebellions, and repelling all foreign aggression. (12) Annam cedes to France all her ships of war, and agrees to pay an indemnity, the amount to be hereafter fixed, in order to pay the expenses of the French occupation. Until the payment of the indemnity all customs dues to be retained by the French.

The terms of this treaty no sooner became public property than China vehemently protested against them; and the Marquis Tsêng pointed out in unmistakable language that, Annam being a vassal of China, no treaty with that State could be valid unless it had been endorsed by the suzerain Power. Finding that the French government was impervious to this argument, the Chinese made preparations to defend their position. They poured troops into Tonquin, and sent abroad for armaments and ships.

A sortie undertaken by General Bouët in the direction of Sontay was partly successful, though the general had eventually to retire on Hanoi, having encountered stronger opposition on the part of the Chinese troops than he had expected. Possibly with the view of daunting his opponents, he ordered all the prisoners taken to be beheaded. In another direction General Badens was more successful. He captured Namdinh at the head of a force of 25 men, without the loss of a life. But to Admiral Courbet belongs the honour of having achieved a still greater success. At the head of an army of 10,000 troops and supported by a strong flotilla, he attacked and took by assault the important fortress of Sontay. This

was one of the places an attack on which had been declared by the Marquis Tsêng to be the equivalent to a declaration of war with China. This action drew from the Marquis a further protest, accompanied by a request that the French government would withdraw their forces from Tonquin, where they were not wanted, and where the state of the country no longer justified their presence; and he appealed to the document in which both Garnier and Rivière had been disavowed at the Quai d'Orsay. For three weeks M. de Freycinet left the despatch of the Chinese Minister unanswered, and at the end of that time replied that the government of the Republic had no explanation to offer to the Chinese government.

Affairs having thus come to a deadlock at Paris, it was determined to remove the negotiations to Peking, where M. Bourrée represented France. On instructions from Paris he demanded from the Chinese authorities the execution of the treaty of 1874, the acknowledgement of the protectorate of France over Annam, and the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonquin. The two countries were now in a state of war; and, while France hurried her reinforcements and ships to Tonquin, the Chinese pushed troops across the frontier. While matters were in this condition, news reached Paris of the death of the young King of Annam, Tiephoa, by poison, and of a general uprising against the French. This was disquieting news; but already the reinforcements despatched from France were arriving, and General Millot was quickly in position to take the field against the now allied forces of China and Annam. One of his first expeditions was directed against Bacninh, which he captured with the loss of only five men, though he failed to cut off the retreat of the routed allies.

In these circumstances Paris was no place for the Marquis Tsêng; and he therefore shook the dust of the city off his feet, leaving any further negotiations to be conducted by Li Hung-chang at Tientsin. That cautious official, being well aware that China was no match for France, declared himself ready to

listen to terms of arrangement. Such an opportunity was not to be lost; and Captain Fournier, in whose hands the negotiations had been placed, proposed a treaty by which China agreed to withdraw from Tonquin, and to recognise the French treaties with Annam; while France undertook to hold the frontier inviolate, and to respect the fiction of Chinese suzerainty. As a supplement to this convention Capt. Fournier added a memorandum, in which he fixed the dates when the various fortresses were to be handed over to France. To these dates Li Hungchang objected; and, according to him, Fournier thereupon ran his pen through them. On the other hand Fournier declared on his honour that he did nothing of the kind. At all events the memorandum was not signed; and events in Tonquin quickly made the convention null and void.

The convention had been signed on May 11, 1884; and news of its conclusion was instantly sent to Tonquin, where the military authorities at once took steps to act upon it. In June a column left Hanoi in the direction of Langson. On approaching that city, Colonel Dugenne, who was in command, encountered a strong Chinese force which occupied a position across the road. The French officer instantly called on the Chinese to retire across the frontier. To this the Chinese general objected, averring that he was unaware of the terms of the convention, and expressing his determination to hold his ground until he received instructions from his superior officers to retire. While the three mandarins who brought this message to the French camp were discussing the situation with the French commander, a straggling detachment of *Zephyrs* opened fire on some Chinese troops in their neighbourhood. Two of the three mandarins, hearing the firing and fearing that it might bring on an engagement, precipitately left their hosts (by whom they were regarded as hostages), with the intention of stopping the firing. The French, on the other hand, believing that they were going to lead their men in the fight, shot them down as they ran, and pistolled the third lest he

should imitate their example. The engagement now became general. The French, though they fought bravely, were completely outnumbered, and presently began to fall into confusion. The Chinese pressed their advantage, and drove the enemy before them in headlong flight. A brilliant stand was made by a small body of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, who stemmed the torrent of pursuit, and saved the force from utter destruction. This defeat rendered the Fournier-Li Hungchang convention so much waste-paper; and the campaign was renewed all along the line. Success of a kind—for the immediate results were barren—attended the French arms; and the action of the French fleet off the coast of China made the Chinese ready and even anxious for peace, while the difficulties which attended fighting in the climate of Tonquin inclined the French to listen to terms. Matters being in this condition, a special envoy in the person of Mons. Cogordan arrived on the scene with a treaty cut and dried in his pocket.

On this document Li Hungchang, the Chinese plenipotentiary, refused to look, and finally concluded a treaty with Mons. Patenôtre, the French Minister at Peking. By the terms of this document France undertook to re-establish and maintain order in those provinces of Annam which border on the Chinese Empire, at the same time agreeing that in no circumstances would French troops cross the frontier which separates Tonquin from China. China, on the other hand, engaged to disperse or expel such bands as might take refuge in her provinces bordering on Tonquin, and further undertook to respect the treaties, conventions, and arrangements concluded between France and Annam. Article V provided that import and export trade should be permitted, but only to French or French-protected traders and the Chinese traders across the land frontier between China and Tonquin. By Article VII the French were permitted to make roads in Tonquin and to encourage railways; and China agreed that, in case she should decide on constructing railways, she would have recourse to

French industry, while the government of the Republic declared its readiness to afford every facility for procuring in France the staff that might be required. This treaty was signed on June 9, 1885; and the peace that it secured remained unbroken until the Boxer outbreak in 1900.

The commercial articles were aimed so completely to reserve for France and China all advantages of trade that other Powers have been at a certain disadvantage. But, notwithstanding this, the bulk of the trade of the country has, in the natural order of things, fallen into the hands of the Chinese, the British, and the Germans. According to the trade returns of French Indo-China for 1902, the foreign trade amounted to fr. 400,429,000, or fr. 37,343,000 more than in 1901; the increase in exports being fr. 24,658,000, and in the imports fr. 12,685,000. From these figures it appears that in the last ten years the foreign trade has grown from fr. 161,000,000 to fr. 400,000,000. This is satisfactory so far as it goes; but that the main profit should go into the pockets of foreigners was not contemplated by the founders of the French Empire in the East. For example, in 1902 the amount of exports shipped for Hongkong was double that shipped to France; and of the shipping which cleared from Saigon in the same year only 35 vessels (exclusive of government vessels) of a tonnage of 41,891 tons flew the French flag, while 133 British vessels, of a tonnage of 209,929 tons, cleared from the port. These last figures were outnumbered by the German vessels, which are recorded as having been 212, with a tonnage of 232,783 tons. To improve this state of things it is proposed to make Haiphong, Tourane, and Saigon free ports, on the model of Hongkong, by which policy it is believed that the trade of Indo-China will be doubled within five years.

At present the colony is a constant drain on the mother country; and the budget for the present year is expected to show a deficit of fr. 12,000,000. To a great extent the constructive works undertaken by France are accountable for this

disparity between receipts and expenditure. In order to develope the country, railroads have been constructed in all directions, the most important being those from Haiphong by Vietri to Laokai in the direction of Yunnanhsien in the Chinese province of Yunnan, and from Hanoi to Langson. But these works progress slowly, and are hindered in their course by the scarcely concealed opposition of the natives[1].

[1] *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, Trade of French Indo-China for the year 1902, Foreign Office, April, 1903.

CHAPTER XIX.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SIAM AND THE WEST.

THE early history of Siam, like that of most Oriental States, consists mainly of ever-recurring wars with the neighbouring Powers, in which crowns and principalities were the prizes played for, with the result that the frontiers of Siam were always enlarging or diminishing as the fortune of war decided. The old kingdom of Siam occupied at times the greater part of Indo-China, stretching from the frontier of Burma to the range of mountains which separated it from Annam. Its former capital, Ayuthia, which stood on an island in the Menam river, was founded in 1350, and endured a precarious existence until it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, in the course of one of their many invasions of the country; whereupon the capital was moved to Bangkok.

During this period Siam was visited by Portuguese explorers and adventurers, who, entering with zest into the precarious existence of the times, offered their services now to one potentate and now to another, as the circumstances of the day seemed to direct. In 1543 we find some Portuguese fighting in the ranks of the Pegu army, in an invasion of Siam, and another company of compatriots opposing them in the interests of the King of Siam. The services rendered by these soldiers of fortune may have been advantageous to the various

sovereigns, but they left no mark on the politics of the country or the well-being of the people. Though possessed at first of a higher state of civilisation than the Orientals whom they served, they seem habitually to have fallen to the level of their surroundings; and it was not until the advent of Roman Catholic missionaries that anything beyond the accumulation of plunder entered into the calculations of these waifs and strays from Europe.

Previous to this, however, in 1511, Don Alfonso d'Albuquerque, being engaged in the siege of Malacca, sent a lieutenant to Siam in the hope of gaining some countenance and support from the King of that country. His messenger was well received, and returned laden with presents. But, Malacca having fallen in the interval, Don Alfonso did not follow up his attempt to open diplomatic relations with Siam. Five years later, one Manuel Falcâo established himself at Patana, and, being well received by the Siamese, built a factory there. By degrees Portuguese settlers increased in numbers, and, finding favour in the eyes of the inhabitants, were able not only to trade advantageously but to spread the truths of Christianity among the people. In 1517 Diogo Coelho was appointed Portuguese ambassador to Siam, and was well received by the court. Under these fostering influences the number of Portuguese residents increased greatly; and in 1548 they were even able to do yeoman's service to the State on the occasion of a war with Pegu.

It having been reported in Portugal that one Domingo de Seixao was detained as a prisoner by the Siamese, King Dom João III sent an envoy to ask for his release. The mission proved useless, for the envoy discovered on landing that the supposed prisoner, far from being held in captivity, was commanding a large Siamese force in a frontier war. In later times the Portuguese influence waned in Siam; and at the present day a bare sprinkling of Portuguese merchants are resident in the country, while the trade passing through their

hands is so small as scarcely to justify the appointment of a consul to look after its interests.

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese were the only foreigners of note in the country; and it was with anything but a friendly feeling that in the following era they received the news that the Dutch were about to open communication with Siam. In 1604 the new arrivals persuaded the King to send an embassy to Java and on to Holland, when the ambassador expressed surprise at finding that the Dutch were not the nation of pirates that the Portuguese had stated them to be, but members of a state with an established government. As years went by, questions in dispute arose between the two peoples; and in 1623 the Dutch trade was suppressed. There were, however, so many Siamese traders who had become interested in commerce with the Dutch that influence was brought to bear on the government; and in 1627 the embargo was removed. For some years Dutch trade in the East flourished abundantly, especially with the people of Japan, with whom relations had been opened in consequence of the immigration of Japanese due to the religious persecutions which had broken out in that country. So powerful did the Dutch become that in 1663 they reversed the order of affairs of 1623, and as a result of some outrage on justice on the part of the Siamese, suspended their trade and removed their agent. This action brought the Siamese to their senses; and, after the injustice had been repaired, the foreigners vouchsafed to renew their former relations. For some years matters went smoothly between the two nations; and in 1672 the King showed his confidence in the Dutch by inviting the Governor of Batavia to engage artisans, engineers, and sailors for his services. This was done; and, in recognition of the help then and at other times rendered, the King consented so far to relax his royal isolation as to receive the Dutch agent in audience. In 1702 differences, however, arose; and on this occasion the Dutch were suitors for reconciliation. But, though relations were renewed, the

Dutch influence gradually declined; and at the present day little is left to mark the residence in the country of the natives of Holland, except the ruins of the Dutch factory, which are still visible in the jungle near Paklat, on the banks of the Menam.

It was not to be supposed that the Spaniards, who were already in possession of the Philippines, should not wish to have their share of the trade which was springing up in Siam; and in 1717 an embassy was despatched by the Governor of the Philippines in the name of King Philip V to Siam, with the object of opening up commercial relations with that State. The ambassador, after he had satisfied the Siamese Ministers that he represented the King of Spain and not only the Governor of the Philippines, was received in audience by the King of Siam, who treated him right royally, and bestowed lavish presents upon him. By an agreement arrived at it was arranged that commerce should be maintained between Siam and the Philippines; and so desirous were the Siamese to take advantage of the arrangement that, while Señor Don Gregorio des Bustamente, the envoy, was enjoying the hospitality of the King, a Siamese ship was despatched to Manila bearing as cargo the products of Siam. Unfortunately the captain and his crew were, on landing, treated with the greatest discourtesy. Little or no notice was taken of the letters which the captain carried from the envoy to the Governor of the Philippines, and no attention of any kind was shown him. The effect of this neglect was disastrous to the opening trade, which from that time ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, however, the Jesuits had, in about the middle of the seventeenth century, established themselves in the country, and were the means of introducing a more intimate personal knowledge of Europe to the officials of the Siamese court. It chanced that towards the end of that century there was found at the capital a certain Greek Christian named Constantin Faulcon, who, after having rung the changes on religions and

callings, declared himself to be, at last, a Roman Catholic. This man had all the subtleness and obsequiousness which characterise the people of his race; and by the use of those qualities he succeeded in ingratiating himself in the eyes of the high officials of the court, and finally of the King himself. At an earlier period Faulcon had visited England, and had held a position in a mercantile office in London. Thence he was sent to the East Indies and Siam, where his knowledge of trade and his general abilities won for him the countenance of his employers and the native officials with whom he was brought into contact. So highly was he thought of that the King offered him the post of Prime Minister of the kingdom; but with a wise discretion Faulcon declined the honour, on the ground that his acceptance of the office would arouse the envy and ill-will of the Siamese courtiers. He was content therefore to serve the State as Foreign Minister. In early life he had been a Protestant, but under the influence of the French Jesuits in Siam he was led to adopt their creed and policy; and, with all the ardour of a convert, he used his influence to further the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries to convert the nation to Christianity, and incidentally to promote the influence of France in the Far East.

Under his advice it was arranged that Louis XIV should send an embassy to the King of Siam, to give weight to the movement which was being sedulously promoted by the missionaries. In 1685 Monsieur de Chaumont presented himself at the court of Ayuthia bearing a letter of friendship from the Most Christian King, together with presents consisting of brocades, looking-glasses, watches, clocks, etc. to the value, it was reckoned, of 300,000 crowns. A return mission was despatched in the following year under the direction of Father Tachard, a Jesuit, who accompanied the Siamese envoys on their journey homeward. Nothing definite occurred to disturb the relations of the two countries during these missions; but some friction was aroused by the evident determination shown

by Louis XIV that the Siamese should not only receive his patronage but should adopt his religion. To this the King, Phra Narai, was firmly opposed; and, being a man of acute intellect, he was able to hold his own with the missionaries and even at times to turn the tables upon them. This did not, however, interfere with the passage of ambassadors; and Father Tachard was again, in 1688, despatched to France as the King of Siam's Envoy Extraordinary. On this occasion Tachard visited the court of Rome, and for some unexplained reason, possibly because he foresaw the impending storm, did not return to Siam. On the occasion of the first embassy a visit was made to England, when the Ambassador concluded a treaty with the British government by which certain trading and other facilities were accorded to the English. Under this convention English merchants settled in Siam in increasing numbers, and, concerning themselves only with trade, escaped the ill-will which was rapidly gathering against the French.

Finding the cloak of religion insufficient to conceal the ambitious designs of France, the Jesuits hit upon the plan of arousing the jealousy of the Siamese against the Dutch, who held a fort at the mouth of the Gulf, and who from this coign of vantage imposed tolls and duties on all ships that passed into the Gulf. The position was complicated by the fact that the Most Christian King had on several occasions sent small detachments of soldiers as guards of honour to Phra Narai, some of whom had formed themselves into garrisons occupying the forts at Bangkok and Mergui. These positions gave the French a status from which it might be difficult to dislodge them; and the anti-French party in the country hesitated to risk a contest with the garrisons from Europe. The death of the King Phra Narai, in 1688, brought matters to a climax; and by common consent Opra Pitrachand, one of the chief Ministers of State, openly took the lead against the encroaching Frenchmen. Even before the breath was out of the monarch's body, he collected a large force of troops around

the palace of Louvo, and, having possessed himself of the person of the King, he seized his adopted son and brothers, thus securing the next heirs to the throne.

On becoming aware of this revolution, Faulcon hurried to the palace with an escort of French soldiers, but had no sooner got within the walls than he and the French officers who accompanied him were seized and made prisoners. Meanwhile the King's French guard was despatched to another part of the country; and Opra Pitrachand, having his hands thus free, at once took strong measures. He openly accused Faulcon of a treacherous design to hand over the Siamese crown to the French King. In order to extract evidence of the truth of this accusation he subjected his prisoner to torture, and aggravated his miserable condition by hanging the dissevered head of the King's adopted son round his neck. Fortunately death put an end to Faulcon's sufferings; and his persecutor, having thus disposed of him, confiscated his goods and effects, and sold his wife and family into slavery. His next step was to murder the late King's brothers; and, having thus got rid of his opponents, he usurped the throne.

The Siamese and the French detachments were now at open war; and, though the French soldiers defended themselves gallantly against the attacks of their enemies, they were unable to continue to hold out against their vastly superior numbers. The detachment at Mergui succeeded in escaping to Pondicherry in English and Siamese vessels, with the connivance of the besieging force; while that at Bangkok, after having capitulated, was escorted by a Siamese guard to the same port.

The charges brought against Faulcon were generally believed throughout Siam; and Opra Pitrachand, finding himself supported by the nation at large, persecuted without mercy the Church of Christ. He seized the French missionaries and inflicted every species of barbarity upon them. He imprisoned them in chains. He flogged them and inflicted

numberless indignities upon them. The native converts suffered still further persecution. They were subjected to torture of the most cruel kind, and were put to death by hundreds. The arrival, in 1689, of five ships from France mitigated the rigours of the persecution for a time. The Bishop was set at liberty; and the severity of the punishments inflicted on members of the priesthood underwent modification. But even with this relief their disabilities were well-nigh intolerable. They were forbidden to teach or preach to the people, or to publish any books on Christianity. Fortunately for them, wars and rumours of wars so occupied the attention of the rulers of Siam that the foreigners were left in comparative peace; and from time to time fresh ministers of the Gospel arrived to bear their share in the difficult and dangerous work of proselytising. To the constant demand made by the Siamese that these men should join in heathen ceremonies they returned a firm negative, until, in 1780, a royal decree was passed by which all Catholic missionaries were banished from Siam. The edict was carried out so far as any such sweeping law can be, but it did not prevent stray missionaries returning to their work as soon as the evil day was passed. At this time most of the various missions found refuge in the English colony of Penang, where they were safe from the fear of their enemies.

Meanwhile the country was continually disturbed by war. The Burmese made frequent incursions into it; and on one such expedition, in 1767, they took forcible possession of the capital, Ayuthia, and razed it to the ground. The King of Siam was wounded in the assault and escaped merely to die. The throne being thus vacant, the Burmese appointed an officer named Phyá Nái Kông to the vacant seat; and, having plundered the people of all they could take, retired across the frontier, being well aware that it was beyond their power to hold possession of the kingdom. Nor was their nominee successful in doing so, for, being attacked by the Siamese general Phăja

Tâk, he suffered complete defeat and loss of life. Thereupon Phăja Tâk pursued his victorious career. He conquered Korat and Cambodia, seized Chiengmai, over which he appointed a ruler, and finally made himself king over the land. History relates, however, that his successes produced an insane desire to be adored equally with Buddha. Other and more material excesses detached the affection of the people from him; and in 1781 his subjects rose against him and drove him to take refuge in a monastery for the preservation of his life. But the device failed; he was dragged from his hiding-place and put to the sword.

These disorders had the effect of practically cutting off Siam from Europe; and for many years there were no western foreigners in that Empire. More than a generation elapsed before relations were re-opened with the government of Siam. It was in the year 1822 that the Governor-General of India, in pursuance of this object, appointed Mr Crawfurd Envoy Extraordinary to that court. At first he and his suite were regarded with dislike; and every attempt was made to submit them to indignities. Officials of inferior rank were appointed to communicate with the envoy; and he was housed in a mean and dirty lodging. By degrees however a juster view of the status of the envoy prevailed; and, according to native custom, he was introduced to the Prime Minister as a preliminary to his reception by the King and the members of the royal family. After several interviews at which the main objects of the mission were but slightly touched on, and at which the despatch of the Governor-General was presented to the Minister, the envoy was introduced to a Prince Chromachit, an illegitimate son of the reigning King, who for his knowledge and ability was entrusted with the management of foreign affairs. Having satisfied himself that Mr Crawfurd rightly represented the British Sovereign, the Prince arranged for an audience with the King. Amid a scene which was a mixture of tawdry display with dirt and crowding, the envoy was admitted into the

audience chamber, at the extreme end of which stood a platform which was curtained off from the chamber. When all the officials were arranged in their due order, at a given signal the curtains were drawn and the King seated on a throne was exposed to view. The King "was dressed in a close jacket of gold tissue; on his left was placed what appeared to be his sceptre; but he wore neither crown nor other covering on the head, nor was the former emblem of the office of royalty displayed on this occasion. The throne was hung round with the same sort of cloth which formed the curtain in front, and behind it were placed two of the conical-shaped ornaments formerly mentioned. Except in the quality of the cloth with which the throne was surrounded we could observe no indication of opulence or of magnificence[1]."

The conversation on this occasion was of a merely general character; and it was not until afterwards that Mr Crawfurd was able to discuss with the Prime Minister the question of international commerce between the two States. The points which Mr Crawfurd was especially instructed to advocate were the granting of a free and open trade, and the removal of the import and export duties which exercised so detrimental an effect on Indian commerce. With that ignorance of international rights which characterises most Oriental States, it had been the practice for the King's Ministers on the arrival of a vessel to investigate the contents of her hold, to purchase at an unduly small cost those articles which suited their tastes, and to retail them to the native merchants at their full value. Sometimes they would thus partially confiscate the whole cargo of the vessel. In the same way the Ministers would supply an outgoing ship with goods they had bought in the cheapest market, and exact more than their value from the exporting captain. Against these extortions Mr Crawfurd protested

[1] *The Mission to Siam and Hué.* From the *Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq.*, 1826, p. 145.

strongly, but received no more satisfactory reply than that the custom was an old one and could not be lightly altered. Finally he had to be satisfied with conditions foreshadowed in a letter from the Prime Minister, in which that official stated that, in obedience to the commands of the King, it should be conceded that, "as soon as they (the ships) are anchored, the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam; and the duties and charges shall not be more than heretofore, nor afterwards be raised. Let the English merchants," says the writer, "come to Siam to sell and buy in conformity to this agreement[1]." With this poor comfort Mr Crawfurd had to be content, and he took leave of the shores of Siam, carrying with him as presents to the Governor-General "ten elephants' tusks, weighing two piculs; benzoin, two piculs; cardamums, of one sort, one picul, and of another sort, three piculs; tin, fifteen piculs; pepper, one hundred and fifty piculs; sugar, one hundred piculs; and gamboge, five piculs[2]."

So matters would have probably remained for some years had there not arisen in the neighbourhood of the British settlement at Penang a political question which might conceivably have had an important bearing on that place. In consequence of a dispute between the King of Siam and the ruler of Quedah near Penang, the former sovereign dispossessed his opponent and occupied his territory. This event, occurring at a time when the British government was engaged in a war with Burma, suggested the advisability of sending a further embassy to Bangkok in 1826 with the object of obtaining the support of Siam in the contest. No political gain resulted from the mission; but Captain Burney, the envoy, succeeded in making a treaty and a commercial agreement with the King.

[1] *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China.* By John Crawfurd. London, 1828, p. 174.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 174. A picul equals 100 lbs.

By the terms of the first document free trade was established between the merchants of both countries without the intervention of any other parties. This was a distinct advance; but against it was put a clause which provided that commercial intercourse should be limited to such places as should be determined on by the governor of each Siamese province; while in another article it was laid down that "English subjects who visit a Siamese country must conduct themselves according to the laws of the Siamese country in every particular, that is to say that British subjects would be rendered liable to be punished by a capital penalty in case of homicide, by whipping, fine, or imprisonment, for other offences, and by immediate expulsion from the country for the use of disrespectful language towards any Siamese officer."

These conditions were duly signed, sealed, and delivered, but were not, by the Siamese, deemed to be binding upon them. At least this may be gathered from the fact that they imposed heavy export duties on various native products, and placed the trade in such articles in the hands of single individuals who purchased the rights at large and lucrative figures. Imports were treated in the same inhospitable way; and the government refused to recover debts due by Siamese officers and people to British subjects. So matters remained for seven years, when the United States of America despatched an envoy, Mr Roberts, to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with the King. Mr Roberts succeeded in making a treaty, but it may be questioned whether he advanced the rights of the United States by the document which he signed. The right of buying and selling freely in Siam was conceded (on paper). Tonnage dues were imposed instead of export and import duties. An American debtor was to be released on the cession of all his property to his Siamese creditors. Hospitality and protection were to be afforded to shipwrecked American sailors. In return for these concessions the United States bound their subjects to respect the laws and ordinances of Siam. This

treaty was signed on March 20, 1833, and was duly ratified[1].

The next diplomatist to appear at Bangkok was Sir James Brooke, who, in 1850, was charged with plenipotentiary powers from Queen Victoria to negotiate a treaty with the King. The attempt proved futile; and so hostile was the attitude of both officials and people that Sir James took his leave without even opening negotiations with the government. Before Sir James Brooke had left the shores of Siam a second envoy from the United States in the person of Mr Ballestier arrived at the Siamese capital. Orientals are very susceptible as to the status of envoys presenting themselves at their courts; and the fact that Mr Ballestier had been engaged in commerce at Singapore militated against his success as an envoy. So strong did he find the opposition that he took his leave without having even presented the President's letter to the King.

Foreign affairs in Siam were in this condition when Sir John Bowring, Her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade in China, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Siam, with instructions to make a treaty of peace with that country (1855). Unlike his predecessors, Sir John Bowring was received with courtesy and consideration, and on arrival was visited by the King's Ministers, who bestowed upon him abundant supplies as well as acceptable civilities. Having been informed of the object of his mission—the conclusion of a treaty—the Ministers undertook to arrange with the King for the appointment of a commission to confer with Sir John Bowring. After no undue delay the British envoy met the commissioners, and finally agreed to a treaty which, if not all that could be desired, was certainly an advance on anything that had been placed on record before. After agreeing that from henceforth there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the Queen of England and the King of Siam, the first article stipulated

[1] Bowring's *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 205 etc.

that British subjects visiting Siam should receive the protection of the authorities, while Siamese visiting England should be equally protected. Article II provided for the appointment of a British Consul at Bangkok, who should try all cases in which British subjects were parties to the suit; but that, when the plaintiff was a Siamese and the defendant a British subject, this clause was not to take effect "until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok." Article III laid down that British subjects might reside only in Bangkok itself, or within the space between a circuit of four miles round Bangkok and a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city. All British subjects were to be registered at the consulate, and were not to be allowed to wander about the country or to sail from its shores without permits. They were permitted the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities as were sanctioned by the Siamese government. All imports except opium, which was to be imported free, were to pay a duty of three per cent. *ad valorem*; and all exports were to be taxed according to the specifications in the tariff attached to the treaty. The middleman between the British merchant and the native dealer was to be abolished; and merchants were allowed to buy and sell without let or hindrance. A favoured-nation clause was inserted; and it was laid down that at the end of ten years either government could insist on the revision of the treaty.

The conclusion of this treaty brought Sir John Bowring's visit to a close; and the remainder of his stay in the country was occupied in paying and receiving visits from the Siamese officials. Before his departure from Siam, he had audience of the King, who received him standing, "being clad in blue satin garments embroidered in gold, and a light azure sash round his waist—in slippers—on an elevated building accessible by many marble steps, where," says Sir John Bowring, "he beckoned me to meet him alone. He took me

by the hand, which he held for some time, and described the presents intended for England, which were brought by nobles crawling on all fours and hiding their faces in prostration. He said that those intended for the Queen were in a closed box, containing the royal letter, written in Siamese on sheets of gold, and in English by his own hand, and altogether of his own composition, the receipt of which he hoped Her Majesty would herself acknowledge. He more than once said, 'Now, as I wrote to Her Majesty, Her Majesty will of course write to me[1]'."

This costly box with its enclosures was delivered into the hands of Mr Parkes (afterwards Sir Harry Parkes), who was to carry it to England; and a golden key was given him with which to open it in the presence of his Sovereign. The presents for the Queen were placed in the same hands amid the sound of music; and, when this was done, the envoy and his staff took formal leave of his Siamese Majesty. Though lavish in their gifts to their guests, these Siamese officials were no less liberal in their requests, and they levied a considerable tax on the liberality of the envoy. As a sign of great regard the King presented Sir John Bowring with a small bundle of hair from the tail of the second white elephant in the royal stables.

No remarkable developments of trade or diplomatic relations followed immediately on this treaty; and, with the nonchalance characteristic of our Foreign Office, no very strenuous effort was made to turn its provisions to the best advantage. It was not long after, however, that, as we have seen, France awoke to the desire of establishing an extended colonial Empire in Indo-China. Elsewhere we have shown how by degrees she possessed herself of Tonquin and Cochin China, and established a protectorate over Annam and Cambodia. But these

[1] *The Kingdom and People of Siam.* By Sir John Bowring. Vol. II. p. 334, etc.

very substantial acquisitions availed her nothing so long as Siam remained beyond her influence. She had established rights over Cambodia on the plea that that country was tributary to Annam; and on the same principle she argued that the eastern provinces of Siam should owe allegiance to her.

So early as 1866 Garnier had made a voyage of exploration up the troubled waters of the Mekong, and yielding to his vivid imagination had thought he had discovered a mercantile El-Dorado. Subsequent experience has proved that he was wrong; that along a large stretch of its course the waters of the river are disturbed by rapids and cataracts, which make navigation impossible; and that its banks are occupied by a population which perpetually lives within measurable distance of famine. But, though this be so, the French have never relaxed their efforts to advance, whether by consent or by force, over the frontier of Siam. As has already been said, Oriental boundaries are more than usually subject to fluctuation; and it was not a difficult task to show that Siam had no unimpeachable title to all the land which she possessed. It was acknowledged, however, that for half-a-century at least Siam had held sway over the country lying between the Mekong and the mountain frontier of Annam; and this, beyond all question, gave her a superior title to that claimed by a European Power, which had no possible right beyond that conferred by force and conquest.

But the French were not troubled with any such qualms of conscience; and their public men did not hesitate to announce that France would not and could not be satisfied with anything less than the territory on the left bank of the river Mekong from the frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan to its mouth. In vain the Siamese government protested against this assumption of right, and proposed that a neutral zone thirty miles in width should be established between the territories of the two Powers until such time as an international commission should

determine the legitimate frontier. While matters were in this condition, a French officer with his escort was murdered in Siamese territory and another was captured by local levies (1892–93). These events gave the French an opportunity which they promptly took advantage of. Without loss of time they presented an ultimatum at Bangkok involving the following demands: (1) recognition of the rights of Annam and Cambodia [and through them of France] to the left bank of the Mekong and the islands: (2) evacuation of the posts held there by the Siamese within one month's time; (3) satisfaction for the various aggressions against French subjects in Siam and against French ships and sailors on the Menam; (4) punishment of the culprits, and pecuniary indemnities to the families of the victims; (5) indemnities of two million francs for various damages inflicted on French subjects; (6) immediate deposit of three million francs as a guarantee for these claims, or, in default, an assignment by way of security of the revenues of Battambang and Angkor. Should these terms not be accepted the French Minister would leave, and the coast be blockaded forthwith[1].

The result of this ultimatum was the conclusion of a treaty which was signed at Bangkok on the 3rd of October, 1893. By the first clause in this document the Siamese government renounced all pretension to the whole of the territories on the left bank of the Mekong, and to the islands in the river. By the second article the Siamese bound themselves not to place or navigate any armed boats or vessels on the waters of the great Tonle Sap Lake, the Mekong, or their tributaries situated in the territory indicated in the next article. By the article thus referred to the Siamese agreed not to construct any fortified post or military establishment in the provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap, or within a radius of 15 miles from the right bank of the Mekong. Article V of the treaty

[1] *China and her Neighbours.* By R. S. Gundry. 1893, p. 178.

laid it down that, as the development of the navigation of the Mekong may render necessary certain works on the right bank, or the establishment of relay stations for boats for wood and coal depôts, the Siamese government binds itself to give, on the request of the French government, all the necessary facilities for this purpose[1].

It will be seen that by the terms of this treaty not only was all the territory on the left bank of the Mekong, with the islands in the river, handed over to France, but the land on the right bank to a distance of 15 miles was virtually put at her disposal. The demand was made; Siam was powerless to refuse consent; and so with the best grace possible she yielded to her masterful opponent. So far, however, the results have not equalled the expectations formed at the time of the conclusion of the treaty. The hope that the river may prove to be navigable has been finally disposed of; and the mercantile advantages of the position have proved to be *nil*. These results were probably foreseen by the Siamese, who though unwilling to relinquish territory had less compunction in resigning the barren regions on the right bank of the river than they would have had if they had been called upon to cede the comparatively rich lands in the valley of the Menam, which is the original home of the Siamese race.

It had been hoped by the French that the trade of Siam would be diverted by way of Annam to the sea; but commerce chooses the routes of least resistance; and, far from comparing favourably with the Bangkok route, the French proposal entailed a long and difficult transport. The construction of the railway to Korat—a line which was completed in 1900—finally put an end to any such dreams; and at the present time the French find themselves the possessors of vast tracts of unfertile and mountainous lands. Other railways are in course of con-

[1] *The Directory and Chronicle for China...Indo-China...Siam, etc.* Hong-kong, 1902.

struction, which are especially intended to develope the resources of the country; and the reorganisation of the army has been the means of placing the State in a position of greater strength and independence than formerly.

The trade of the country has considerably increased of late years. In 1902 the exports amounted to £4,366,967, against a little over three millions the previous year; while the imports were of the total value of £3,393,674, and exceeded the amount for 1901 by £588,288. How small a part of the trade of the country is enjoyed by France is sufficiently indicated by the fact that, while the imports from the United Kingdom were 9½ per cent. of the total, from Hongkong 24, from India 42, and from Germany 4½, France was accredited only with something less than 4 per cent.[1]

The enlightened policy which the Siamese government has of late years pursued has gained for it the respect of the foreign Powers; and at no time in the history of the country has its position been so well assured as at the present day. A treaty concluded between Japan and Siam in 1898 has been the means of renewing a closer commercial connexion between those countries, and may possibly tend to strengthen the position of the Siamese in moments of stress and danger.

Although France had considerably enlarged her borders at the expense of Siam, she was not unwilling still further to extend her frontier; and, taking advantage of some difficulty in rightly interpreting the treaty of 1893, she nine years later (1902) concluded a convention with Siam by which the three Provinces of Melou Prey, Tonlé Repou, and Bassac were ceded to her. These territories lie between the Tonlé Sap Lake and the Mekong, and are strictly within the basin of that river. But the neighbourhood of Western Powers is apt to be dangerous to Oriental States; and France showed an

[1] *Diplomatic and Consular Reports.* Trade of Bangkok for the year 1902. Foreign Office, October, 1903.

unmistakable desire to advance into the basin of the Menam. This was too near an approach to our sphere of influence to make it a matter of indifference to ourselves; and in the recent convention concluded between Great Britain and France an arrangement was arrived at, with the assent of Siam, by which the influence of those two Powers in the neighbourhood of that State was strictly defined. By this arrangement it was mutually agreed "that the influence of Great Britain shall be recognised by France in the territories situated to the west of the basin of the river Menam, and that the influence of France shall be recognised by Great Britain in the territories situated to the east of the same region, all the Siamese possessions on the east and south-east of the zone above described and the adjacent islands coming thus henceforth under French influence, and, on the other hand, all Siamese possessions on the west of this zone and of the Gulf of Siam, including the Malay Peninsula and the adjacent islands, coming under British influence[1]." At the same time the two contracting parties solemnly disclaimed all idea of annexing any Siamese territory. Whether in this arrangement France did not receive a larger advantage than she conceded, is very doubtful; but the convention regarding Siam must be judged in connexion with the whole Anglo-French agreement of which it forms part.

[1] Agreement between Great Britain and France, April 8, 1904.

CHAPTER XX.

ORIGIN OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

SINCE the above pages were written, further developments arising out of the facts and policies sketched in the preceding chapters have led to the outbreak of war between Russia and Japan. In these circumstances it would seem appropriate to give here a sketch of the steps by which this regrettable result has been arrived at; and in so doing it will be necessary to refer to incidents already described. The advance of Russia into Eastern Asia has for many years given rise to anxiety on the part of Japan, whose island home lies so close to the shores of the neighbouring continent that the possession of the Asiatic coast-line by a strong Western Power would, it was recognised, be a standing menace to the independence of the Empire. It was therefore with some alarm that in 1891 Japan learnt that the Tsar's government had determined to construct a line of railway through Siberia to connect European Russia with Vladivostok. The construction of this line would, it was reckoned, occupy ten years; and, true to the engagement, it was by the end of that period well-nigh accomplished.

Past experience in Asia had made the world familiar with the onward march of Russia; but, even so, it was not anticipated that any much greater advance was then in contemplation.

For four years political issues in Manchuria remained dormant; and it was not until the result of the Chino-Japanese war placed Port Arthur in the possession of Japan that the Colossus of the North gave evidence of a more than usual interest in the fate of that country. Signs were at once patent that the position was eminently distasteful to Russia. At the Peking Legation there was much searching of hearts; and the result of repeated conclaves in which Li Hungchang, the returned Minister Plenipotentiary, took an active part, led to a formal remonstrance addressed by the Ministers of Russia, Germany, and France to Japan, in which that country was strongly urged in the cause of peace and amity to relinquish this prize of war. In the following memorandum addressed to the Japanese government, the Russian Minister gave vent to the strongly held views of his master on the subject of Port Arthur:—"The government of his Majesty the Emperor, my august master, in examining the conditions of peace which Japan has imposed upon China, finds that the possession of the peninsular of Liaotung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East. Consequently the Government of his Majesty the Emperor, my august master, would give a new proof of its sincere friendship for the Government of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, by advising it to renounce the definite possession of the peninsula of Liaotung."

This remonstrance was a severe blow to the triumphant Japanese; but, with that wonderful self-control which they have uniformly displayed in their relations with European Powers, they, instead of ignoring or flouting this gratuitous interference with their legal right of conquest, took the matter into calm and deliberate consideration. Though they had just emerged victorious from a war, their enemy had not been one to test to the full their fighting powers; and their army and

navy were, as regards European Powers, in a rudimentary condition. Their available troops numbered only 67,000 men; and they did not own a single battleship. In this feeble condition they felt that to oppose, at the risk of war, a coalition of three of the most powerful Western States would be little short of madness. They determined, therefore, to yield the point, and returned the territory to China in exchange for an increased indemnity. Not only, however, were they thus frustrated in securing the material advantage of territory, but a strong effort which they made to get from China an undertaking that under no circumstances would she voluntarily cede the Liaotung peninsula or any part thereof to any other foreign Power, was defeated by the action of the three allies.

These lessons were not lost on the Japanese; the humiliation to which they had been subjected left an indelible impression upon their minds; and they at once determined so to strengthen their position as to enable them to hold their own on all future occasions. In 1896 they set on foot an elaborate scheme of naval and military expansion which it was hoped would yield the expected results within a few years. With steady perseverance they in this way worked out their own salvation, until, as recent events have proved, they are able, at the completion of the prescribed time, to show a bold front in the face of the world.

If the enforced surrender of the Liaotung peninsula left in the minds of the Japanese a burning sense of wrong, subsequent events forced upon them the conviction that, sooner or later, Japan would have to enter on a life and death struggle with the Muscovite power. The absorption of Manchuria had begun. The Russians rapidly strengthened their hold on those portions of that country to which they had gained access, and they even induced the Chinese government to grant them permission to construct a railway which, starting from a point on the Siberian frontier near Khailar, should run in a direct line across Eastern Manchuria to

Vladivostok. This line required some financing; and to meet its wants the Russians established a Bank the shares of which were to be held by Russian and Chinese subjects only, and which should provide the funds required for the trans-Manchurian railway and any other undertaking under the same direction which might be in want of financial assistance. Having secured the right to construct this line of railway, they had little difficulty in inducing the Peking government to allow certain deviations of the road so as to bring it into touch with Tsitsihar, Kharbin, etc.

The possession of this railway gave Russia an opportunity of which she was not long in availing herself. Just as it had been important to provide money for building the railway, so it was essential that it should be duly protected when made. On this plea crowds of Russians swarmed into Manchuria, nominally as guards of the line, but really as soldiers in all but name. The ease with which the Japanese had been dispossessed of Port Arthur, and the complacency with which the Chinese had authorised the presence of Russian troops in Manchuria, seem at this time to have suggested to the Russians a still higher flight of ambition.

The manner in which Russia obtained possession of Port Arthur has already been described (pp. 318—320). This occupation was not only of great political and strategic importance; it seriously affected the commercial position of other Powers. The essential difference between the occupation of Kiaochow and Weihaiwei by the Germans and ourselves, and the possession of Port Arthur by the Russians, was that, while the two first-named ports were freely opened to the trading ships of the world, Port Arthur was to be hermetically sealed against all vessels except the men-of-war of Russia and China. At the same time it was proclaimed at St Petersburg that Talienwan would be an open trading port. But Russian views of commercial rights are narrower than our own; and it occasioned little surprise when it was found that vexatious

regulations and harassing legislation militated considerably against the advantages which had been promised to the world, as attendant on the unfolding of the Russian flag over the port of Talienwan.

There was one nation, however, to whom the political results of the Russian occupation of Port Arthur threw into the shade the loss of commercial privileges at Talienwan. The news of the lease produced a wild excitement in Japan. Not only had Russia ousted Japan by the force of specious pleas, but in direct conflict with those pleas she had taken possession of one of the most hardly-won prizes of the late war. A more unprincipled act it is impossible to imagine; and the Japanese did well to be angry. The nation was stirred to its depths; and it was only by the wise and weighty pressure which was brought to bear by the Elder Statesmen and the Government that war was averted. That the Russians intended to use Port Arthur as a *place d'armes* soon became apparent. They poured troops into the fortress, and before long had mustered 20,000 men on the spot. Together with the lease they had acquired the right of connecting Port Arthur by rail with the Siberian system, and thus with the heart of the Russian Empire. With feverish haste they pushed on the construction of the continuation of the Kharbin and Mukden railway, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing trains running from Port Arthur to Moscow in eighteen days.

But all this was counted as little so long as it was possible that other nations might gain a footing in Manchuria. The line from Shanhaikwan to Hsinmintun, with a branch line to Niuchwang, was an obstacle to the undisputed possession of Manchuria by Russia. British subjects held shares in the line; and British influence had therefore its place in the management. Russia consequently approached Downing Street on the subject; and in 1899 an agreement was arrived at by which we declared that the portion of the line beyond the Great Wall was outside our sphere of influence, in exchange for an assurance given

by the Russians that they would abstain from interfering with any railway south of the same barrier.

Meanwhile, in China, the reform movement had made great advances; and a strong disposition was evinced by the leaders of that movement to ally themselves closely with the Japanese, whose political progress they desired to imitate. This desire for a closer association was cordially reciprocated by the Japanese, who since their development into a first-rate Power have ever had in mind a confederacy with China as a protection against the aggressive action of the Western Powers. They therefore cordially welcomed the Chinese students, who at the bidding of the Yangtsze Viceroys had gone to Japan to study the very practical lessons furnished by the Japanese State. In furtherance of this policy the Marquis Ito visited Peking to advocate his views, and received a qualified support from the Chinese ministers.

The reform party, however, was not possessed of complete wisdom; and some of the measures proposed by them, as we have already seen, were so far in advance of the time that they roused an opposition which for a season was destined to set back the movement altogether. The *coup d'état* which was the consequence of these indiscretions (1898) temporarily destroyed all hope of reform, even among the most sanguine; and a strong reaction set in against everything foreign, except such as emanated from Japan. To that country the Chinese government sent a mission of enquiry in 1899, which brought back favourable reports of the results of the enlightened policy pursued by the Japanese.

But troublous times were imminent; and in the following year the Boxer movement broke out, which threw all schemes for and against reform into the seething pot of bloodshed and riot. Times of disturbance have often proved themselves to be Russia's opportunities; and, while the attention of the world was being directed towards the disturbed provinces of China, she made overtures to the Korean government for a lease of

the port of Masampo on the south-eastern coast of Korea. The position of Masampo, within sight of the islands off the coast of Japan, makes it imperative for the safety of that Empire that it should be in the hands of a dependent or closely allied Power. Its possession by Russia would have imperilled the very existence of Japan as an independent state; and the intrigue at Seoul no sooner became known in Tōkiō than a vigorous protest against the cession was lodged in the Korean Foreign Office. So urgent was the opposition that Russia found it advisable not to press the point; but the fact that it was even mooted proved conclusively to the Japanese that Russian ambition was by no means confined to Manchuria, but aimed at domination over Korea also.

In the operations connected with the war occasioned by the Boxer outbreak Russia took a share; but the preliminaries of peace were no sooner brought forward for discussion than it became obvious that she had no part or lot in the arrangements. The Russian Minister at Peking bluntly declared that the retribution proposed for the brutal murder of missionaries and others did not concern him. At the meeting of Ministers he further advocated the withdrawal of all troops from Peking, and announced that he for one was going to retire with his country's troops from the capital. This arrangement he carried out; and thus, while playing the part of friend to China, he released a valuable body of troops for service in Manchuria.

But, just as the Russians misunderstood the attitude of the Japanese before the outbreak of the present war, so they believed that the Boxers were too busily engaged in northern China to be likely to interfere with their movements in Manchuria. In this they were mistaken; and the terrible atrocity committed at Blagovestchensk, which has been already described (p. 360), was their reply to the uprisings against their usurpation which were organised and headed by Boxer leaders. Incidentally the massacre did more than terrorise the Boxers; it was the means, as General Grodikoff telegraphed to St Petersburg,

of "consolidating the great enterprise of annexing the whole of the Amur to Russia's dominions, and making of that river an internal waterway and not a frontier stream." Thus was added another slice of Manchurian territory to the Empire of Holy Russia.

The public announcement of this acquisition was accompanied by the usual assurances that the one object of the Russian government was the maintenance of the state organisation in China and "the removal of everything that could lead to a partition of the Celestial Empire"—except, if the truth were added, by Russia herself. These assurances were associated with a formal promise that, "so soon as lasting order shall have been established in Manchuria, and indispensable measures shall have been taken for the protection of the railway, the construction of which is assured in virtue of a special formal agreement with China concerning the concession granted to the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, Russia will not fail to recall her troops from those territories of the neighbouring Empire, provided that the action of the other Powers does not place any obstacle in the way of such a measure." The "intolerable deal of sack" in the shape of conditions which surrounds this "halfpennyworth of bread" of promise is quite in keeping with the traditions of Russian diplomacy. As is also closely in accord with precedent, an Imperial order was further transmitted to General Grodikoff announcing the Tsar's determination that "no part whatever of China should be annexed to the Russian dominions." No offer was, however, made to restore the right bank of the Amur.

Meanwhile large reinforcements were poured into Manchuria both by sea and land; and a considerable fleet occupied the waters of Port Arthur and Vladivostok. These advances and warlike preparations still further alarmed the Japanese, who thus saw the might of China disappear before the aggressive generals of their natural enemy, leaving them face to face with the foe. Their anxiety was intensified by the action of Admiral

Alexeieff, who invited the Chinese government to resume the government of the country "under the protection of Russia." What this resumption of the government meant is illustrated by the agreement made (Nov. 11, 1900) with the Tartar General at Mukden, by which, according to the *Times* correspondent, it was proposed that: "The Tartar General was to provide the Russian troops with lodging and provisions, disarm and disband all Chinese soldiers, hand over all arms and ammunition to the Russians, and dismantle all forts and defences not occupied by the Russians. Niuchwang and other places were to be restored to the Chinese administration when the Russian government was satisfied that the pacification of the province was complete. A Russian political Resident with general powers of control was to be stationed at Mukden[1]."

This agreement aroused further alarm and distrust. It directly militated against the interests of Great Britain and the United States, to whom the maintenance of Niuchwang as a treaty port was of great importance; and it still further stirred up the hostility of the Japanese on political grounds. So fierce was the opposition it met with that the Russian government deemed it wise to explain that the proposed agreement was only intended to be a temporary measure, and that no further significance was to be attached to it. But, though Russia was thus obliged to draw in her horns in this particular direction, her Minister at Peking redoubled his efforts to arrive at the same end by another way. He sought to exact for the restoration of Manchuria to the Chinese Crown the grant of special privileges in that territory, and of mining and other rights in Mongolia and Central Asia. But to this proposal the opposition was even stronger than to the one which had preceded it; and the Ministers of Great Britain and the United States powerfully supported Japan in her protest to the Chinese government. The Chinese government, finding itself thus

[1] *Times*, Jan. 30, 1904 ("The Manchurian Question").

supported, and having the concurrence of some of the most powerful of the provincial Viceroys, declined to entertain the Russian proposal, which was therefore temporarily allowed to drop. But, though Russia gave way thus far, she would yield no further; and she positively refused to listen to suggestions from Japan on the Manchurian question, declaring that the interference of a third Power in a matter which primarily concerned herself and China alone was gratuitous and unnecessary.

There was much in these and other negotiations to suggest that the reports which had been long current that secret agreements existed between China and Russia were founded in fact; and, so long as Chinese foreign affairs were conducted at Peking by Li Hungchang, there was no security that interests vital to the empire might not be bartered away for private and illicit gains. It was while matters were in this uncertain and unsatisfactory condition that the world was astonished by the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty signed on January 30, 1902.

The preamble to this important document states that "The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, being moreover especially interested in maintaining the territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Corea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows:

"Art. I. The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognised the independence of China and of Corea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Corea, the High

Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Corea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

"Art. II. If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another Power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

"Art. III. If, in the above event, any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

"Art. IV. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

"Art. V. Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

"Art. VI. The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date.

"In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is

actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded[1]."

This agreement, signed by Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi, considerably altered the relative positions of the Powers in the Far East. To the Japanese it gave a standing such as had never before been attained by any Oriental State. For the first time in history, an Eastern Empire had been admitted into a confederacy with an European Power on terms of complete equality. That Japan had won her advancement by wise and carefully carried-out reforms was admitted by everybody; and even Russia could not withhold a somewhat grudging approval of her new status. The increased armaments gathered by Japan both on sea and on land were the measure of the additional strength acquired by Great Britain in the China Sea through the alliance; and it was readily admitted that, as matters now stand, and in the near future may be expected to stand, the two Empires would be a match, at least at sea, for any combination that could be brought against them in the Far East.

No doubt the alliance had much to do with the firm and dignified attitude adopted by the Japanese government in their negotiations with Russia, in spite of the contemptuous tone adopted by the Russian government in the correspondence between the two courts; and it enabled them to present with authority their political views at Peking and Seoul. It was not long before an occasion arose for the exercise of this influence. In his unregenerate days the Emperor of Korea had granted to a Russian Lumber Company a right to cut down timber in the forests on the banks of the Yalu in the neighbourhood of Yongampo. This apparently innocent concession was rapidly being converted by the Russians into a license to create fortified posts; and every day added to the strength of their position. Against this aggression the Japanese protested

[1] The treaty was published on Feb. 11, 1902; see *Times*, Feb. 12.

vigorously at Seoul. It forced strongly upon them the belief that, if the advance of Russia was to be checked at all, now was the time to make their influence felt. Still more serious was the evident determination of the Russian government not to retire from Manchuria. One of the first results of the Anglo-Japanese alliance had been to strengthen the hands of the peace-party in Russia; and a new treaty had been made with China in April 1902, pledging the Russians to withdraw. The evacuation began shortly afterwards, and continued during the winter. But in the spring of 1903 this process stopped; and the Russian forces even began again to advance. That the aggressive faction in Russia had again become dominant was plainly demonstrated by these events; and the Japanese felt that it was high time to intervene. Accordingly, in July, 1903, they addressed an enquiry to Count Lamsdorff, asking whether he was disposed to re-open the negotiations on the Manchurian and Korean questions. It had been feared at St Petersburg that the new alliance would serve to combine England with Japan in all further negotiations on the Far-Eastern question; and the relief was great when Japan stepped into the arena alone.

With ready compliance Count Lamsdorff expressed his entire willingness to enter upon the discussion suggested by Japan; and in response to this assent Baron Komura, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, in consultation with Baron Rosen, the Russian Minister at Tōkiō, drafted certain proposals which were submitted to the consideration of the St Petersburg cabinet. In this document, which was despatched on August 12, 1903, it was proposed that (1) the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea should be mutually respected, and that the principle of the "open door" in both countries should be preserved; that (2) Japan's interests in Korea, and those of Russia in Manchuria, should be recognised, both Powers being at liberty to take such measures as might be necessary for the protection of their interests subject

to article I; that (3), subject to the same article, both Powers should be at liberty to promote the development of their industrial and commercial activities in their respective spheres of influence without interference from the other; and that Russia should bind herself not to oppose the eventual connexion of the Korean and Manchurian railway systems; that (4) in the event of either Power finding it necessary to take military measures for the protection of her interests as set forth in article II, or for ensuring order in her sphere of interests, only a force sufficient for the purpose should be sent; such force to be recalled as soon as its mission is accomplished; that (5) Russia should recognise the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in Korea, including military assistance, for the promotion of reform and good government; and that (6) all previous agreements respecting Korea should be abrogated.

The proposals thus put forward were such as might well have been accepted if Russia had been disposed to deal fairly and honestly with Japan, more especially as Baron Komura at the same time gave it to be understood that he was ready to define the interests accruing to Russia through her railway in Manchuria as comprising the administration, military and civil, of a strip of territory measuring thirty miles on each side of the line, and including the town of Kharbin. But the aggressive party in Russia were in the ascendant; and the apparently compliant attitude of Japan still further stiffened their resistance to any compromise. On October 3, that is to say after an interval of 52 days, the Russian government vouchsafed a reply, in which it submitted certain counter-propositions to Japan. Manchuria was not mentioned, except to state that it was to be recognised by Japan as outside her sphere of interest. On the other hand the integrity of Korea was to be respected by both Powers; though Russia was willing to recognise the preponderating commercial interest of Japan in Korea, as well as her right to advise and assist Korea in her civil

administration. Subject to these conditions, Russia was ready to concede to Japan the liberty to promote her commercial and industrial interests in Korea, and to take such measures as might be necessary to protect them without interference from Russia. Japan was further to be at liberty to send troops for this purpose to Korea after giving notice to Russia; such troops not to exceed the number actually required, and to be recalled as soon as their mission may be accomplished. Both Powers were to agree not to use the territory of Korea for strategic purposes, and not to erect any fortifications on the coast calculated to impair the freedom of the Straits of Korea. The part of Korea to the north of the 39th parallel was to be regarded as a neutral zone, not to be occupied or invaded by the troops of either Power. All previous agreements respecting Korea were to be abrogated.

It can scarcely be supposed that the Russian government expected Japan to accept these very one-sided proposals, which practically amounted to a demand that Japan should recognise Russia's complete freedom of action in Manchuria, while acquiescing in the close restriction of her own rights in Korea. This was the rock on which the negotiations split. Russia demanded Manchuria for herself, but would concede to Japan no compensation the least adequate; while the possession of Manchuria by Russia must eventually render her predominant in Korea also. That such a position should have been deliberately assumed clearly shows that the Russians had made up their minds that the Japanese would never venture upon war. On the contrary, they were convinced that in bringing forward the above proposals Japan was simply trying to make the best bargain she could in the circumstances. This was a fatal error. The Japanese statesmen had resolved on the minimum conditions which they would accept, and knew that the nation was ready to fight rather than make any further concessions. The receipt of the Russian draft proposals was followed by long and earnest discussions between Baron

Komura and Baron Rosen at Tōkiō, which resulted in a second communication, submitted to the Russian government on October 30. The Japanese government now expressed its willingness to recognise Manchuria as outside its sphere of interest, provided that Russia would recognise Korea as outside her own sphere; while in some minor respects the earlier proposals were modified in a way favourable to Russia. To this note Russia made reply on December 11, after an interval of 42 days. Instead of accepting the Japanese counter-proposal about Korea, she ignored it, and on the other hand declined to discuss the Manchurian question at all. Ten days later Japan despatched a third draft of proposals, adhering with slight modifications, to her old position. To this Russia replied on January 6, offering some minor concessions if Japan would recognise the right of Russia to do what she liked with Manchuria. At the end of a week's interval Japan addressed a fourth and last statement of the conditions she was prepared to accept. This final appeal remained unanswered up to the 5th of February, when on the receipt of information from M. Kurino, the Japanese Minister at St Petersburg, to the effect that it had been finally resolved by the Russian Far-Eastern Committee not to yield on the Manchurian question, Japan broke off the negotiations, and the war in which the two nations are now engaged began.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHINA AND JAPAN, 1905–1911.

From the day on which Japan was forced to forgo the cession of the Liao Tung peninsula as part of the hard-won spoils of the China war, she had steadfastly kept in view the prospect of one day having to fight Russia for her national existence. In the nine years which had elapsed between the last incident of the war and the negotiations described in the closing pages of the preceding chapter, she had made every preparation that human foresight and energy could ensure to fit herself for the conflict which her statesmen felt to be inevitable. The huge indemnity which she had obtained from China had been used for the development of her military, naval and material resources, with a success that realised her own highest expectations. Her spies and secret agents had thoroughly familiarised themselves with the topography and resources of Korea and Manchuria; and her diplomatists had secured a clear ring for the fight by the Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. Her soldiers had had the opportunity of comparing themselves with the Russians in the Boxer campaign, and the result had not discouraged them. Her credit on the great money-markets of the world was good; and her supply of ammunition and stores was complete down to the last gaiter-button. She threw down the gauntlet to one of the greatest Powers of Europe, to the astonishment of

the World but with the most complete confidence in herself, a confidence that was shared by every unit in the Empire, from the Heaven-descended Emperor on the throne down to the humblest private in the ranks.

On February 5, 1904, diplomacy had exhausted itself. Four days later, without any formal declaration of war, a torpedo attack was made, in the darkest hours of the early morning, on the main Russian fleet at anchor outside the harbour of Port Arthur; and two of the most modern Russian battleships and a first-class cruiser were disabled. In the afternoon of the same day, two more warships were attacked and destroyed by an overwhelming force at the harbour of Chemulpo in Korea. Prior to these events, the two Powers had been fairly matched in their local strength upon the sea, though subsequent experience left no reasonable doubt that the superior organisation of the Japanese admiralty, the equally superior equipment of their ships, and the professional skill of their officers and crews would have given the Japanese a decided victory in a general engagement. As it was, they now had command of the sea; and from their bases close at hand they were able to pour troops into Korea and Liao Tung far more rapidly than the Russians could reinforce their existing garrisons in Manchuria with troops from Europe, who, with all their equipage, had to be conveyed for a distance of over 6000 miles on a single-track railway of recent construction and deficient in all the requisites of stations, sidings and rolling stock, essential for the safe conduct of heavy traffic.

The Russians were quickly driven from the frontier of Korea. Port Arthur was isolated and captured, though at heavy cost to the victors, after a siege which lasted for five months and incidentally necessitated the fighting of three pitched battles, in all of which the advantage was on the side of the Japanese. After the fall of Port Arthur, the campaign was continued in Manchuria, and at its close the great battle of Mukden, which lasted for fourteen days (March 1–14), was fought. Its result was

indecisive, though the Russians were forced to retreat and the Japanese gained possession of the town. Two months later, the fleet, which had been despatched from the Baltic under the command of Admiral Rojdestvensky, reached the confines of the sea of Japan, and on May 27, 1905, was totally destroyed by Admiral Togo in the Straits of Tsushima. Thenceforward all hopes of the Russians redeeming their fortunes on the sea were at an end, but their strength on land was still formidable, and still capable of further recuperation. The Japanese had not been able to follow up the victory which they claimed at Mukden; and, though the war was putting an immense strain on the resources of the Russian Empire, there was no possibility of the Japanese inflicting upon it such a blow as would bring it to its knees. Japan also was becoming exhausted both in men and money. Both Powers, therefore, gave ear to the offer of mediation which was made by the President of the United States; and, after protracted negotiations, their accredited representatives concluded, at Portsmouth (New Hampshire, U.S.A.), a Treaty of Peace on August 29, 1905, by which the war was terminated.

The terms of the Treaty seemed to give an inadequate result to Japan for all her costly sacrifices. She had, from first to last, in the war lost over 230,000 men in killed and wounded, of whom 72,000 had actually died in battle or from wounds or disease. She had mobilised over a million men, and she expended, before the war budget was finally closed, over £170,000,000. It had been openly proclaimed in her press that the payment by Russia of an indemnity of £200,000,000 was an absolute condition of peace; but Russia had sternly refused to pay "even one sou," and Japan had therefore to take the entire financial burden on her own shoulders. On the other hand, Russia ceded her leasehold rights in the peninsula of Liao Tung, including the fortress of Port Arthur and the ownership of the southern section of the Manchurian Railway, from Port Arthur to Kwangcheng-

tsze, a length of 521 miles, together with all the collateral mining and other privileges. She also restored the southern half of the inhospitable and dreary island of Saghalin, out of the possession of which she had manœuvred the Japanese thirty years previously; and she promised to evacuate Manchuria and to afford Japan for the future a free hand in Korea.

The moral effects of the war were, however, as striking as its relative material results at first appeared to be unsatisfactory. For the first time in modern history, an Asiatic had successfully faced a European power. The lesson had been taught to the world that organisation and training were capable of rendering the Asiatic the equal, man for man, in military skill, bravery and endurance, of the European even when backed by a long record of military triumph. The teaching which it conveyed was felt in our own Indian Empire, and was not the least of the influences which contributed to the unrest of the last five years. It informed the Japanese that they had acquired an acknowledged position as a formidable power among the nations of the world, and it stimulated them to the further exertions and sacrifices that were necessary to maintain their newly-acquired status, both as a factor in international politics and as a power in Continental Asia, and to develope their industrial and commercial resources by which alone the new heavy burdens of Imperial taxation, necessitated by military and naval expansion, could be defrayed. It infused into China an ardent spirit for reform, rekindling the ashes that had been smouldering ever since the triumph of the reactionary party in 1898, and gave new birth to the party of "Young China," whose ambition was to attain the complete recovery of all the sovereign rights of their country of which they had been deprived by Europeans, and so to consolidate the innate strength of the people that they would for the future be enabled to oppose a bold front to any European Power, even to any combination of European Powers, that threatened or spoiled

them, and to make those Powers as loth to meddle with China as they would now be to meddle with Japan.

China, a great, wealthy and historic Empire, had been compelled by her military weakness and by her corrupt and inefficient Government, to stand passively contemplating a war fought out on her own soil and coasts, the acknowledged prize of which was to be the ultimate domination, in the interests of the victor, without reference to China's rights or wishes, of three of her provinces, rich in all material resources, with their time-honoured capital, the original home of her rulers. One of the belligerent Powers was, like herself, Asiatic and only a generation ago had been, in fact, as puny and insignificant as China had been reputedly strong and influential. Japan had rigorously set aside her old system of civilisation and sacrificed all her ancient Conservative prejudices in favour of the civilisation of Europe; and in little more than one generation she had converted herself from an international nullity, almost bankrupt in her finances, torn by internal discord, ruled by a bureaucratic and narrow-minded autocracy, with a people reduced by ages of oppression to the condition of social and political serfdom, into an acknowledged World-Power, able to pay its way with its own resources, a united Empire efficiently administered on modern constitutional principles by a centralised Government, with a people fully conscious of their constitutional rights and expert in the most advanced scientific attainments of Europe, every man of whom was ready to pour out the last drop of his blood like water in defence of the honour of his Emperor and the security of his country. Why could not China do the same? To this question national pride suggested but one answer; she could do it if, like Japan, she broke with all the effete traditions of the past and unitedly and determinedly entered on the path of reform.

The abortive attempt in 1898 of the Emperor Kwang Hsü, which had ended in his own effacement in the councils of his Empire and the relapse of the *de facto* government into the

hands of the Dowager-Empress Tzu Hsi, with the consequent return to the worst reactionary methods of the past, has been described in a previous chapter (XVII). Two years later, the Boxer movement and all the horrors and financial losses which it brought on China opened the eyes of the vigorous "old Buddha" to the errors of her policy and converted her into a reformer hardly less enthusiastic than had been the unhappy Emperor before his downfall. Her prestige, courage, statesmanship and tact enabled her to succeed where the Emperor had failed and to enlist the co-operation of the ablest intellects and most experienced officials of the Government. In a series of Imperial decrees, that continued to emanate from the Forbidden City throughout the period from her return from her exile at Hsianfu in 1902 until her death in 1908, one vital reform after another was promulgated by Imperial decree, and all have since been tentatively put in force.

The first requisite for the security of the Empire and its government was unity; and to aid in its attainment among rival Chinese and Manchu statesmen, intermarriage between the aristocracies of the two races, which had hitherto been forbidden throughout the whole period of the Manchu dynasty, was not only permitted but encouraged. The national system of education was changed. The examinations in the ancient classics, success in which had been for six hundred years the sole passport to office, were abolished. Knowledge of modern science and languages took the place of the classics as a test; and, to enable aspirants to obtain that knowledge, metropolitan and provincial colleges and technical schools were established, expert Japanese and European teachers were engaged, and promising students were sent to Japan, the United States and Europe. Within a short time there were more than 13,000 Chinese students in the Japanese capital. Military service had been hitherto regarded, if not as degrading, at least as far beneath civil employment, both in dignity and merit. In military matters the Imperial Government had practically taken no direct interest; and all

measures for the defence of the Empire, both on land and sea, had been left entirely to the provincial Viceroys. While responsibility was not entirely taken from them, the foundations were laid of an Imperial army under the direct authority of the Central Government; the relative ranks of civil and military officers were altered to the great advantage of the latter; subjects of princely or noble rank were encouraged to accept commissions as an honour; Japanese officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, were engaged in great numbers as instructors both of the officers and of the rank and file; and generally, the seeds of a strong military spirit were sown throughout the entire nation. The judicial and administrative functions, hitherto combined in the same officials, were separated; new codes of civil and criminal law, based on the principles of modern jurisprudence, were promised; torture, as an ever-present element in criminal procedure, was nominally abolished; and the old barbarous punishment of lingering death and mutilation was replaced in all capital offences by decapitation. Finally, as the greatest reform of all, a constitutional system of government was promised, which, while retaining the sovereign power in the hands of the Emperor, would enable the people to indicate their will through their chosen representatives in Parliament.

The Empress's zeal was not less manifest in the moral reforms of her people than in the administrative. She gave her support to the movement for the abolition of the cruel and insensate custom of the foot-binding of women, which, though unknown among the Manchus, was almost universal among the Chinese; she encouraged and made provision for the better education of women; and she decreed that the cultivation, traffic and smoking of opium should come to an end throughout the Empire within a period of ten years from September 20, 1906, the date of the decree. The last was, of all her reforms, the most far-reaching and extensive in its direct effects on the people; and its results have already, in the short space of five

years, been such as to promise the total extinction of one of the worst vices of humanity, which has existed in China for more than three centuries, and the practice of which has extended to every district, no matter how remote, throughout the whole of the vast Empire, and permeated every class, without distinction of sex, from the Imperial clans down to the poorest peasants. More than one-third of the entire population were addicted to it; its influence was felt by more than half. As a specific illustration of the extent to which the vice prevailed, the case of the province of Szechuan may be quoted. Out of a population in the entire province of about 78,000,000, one-half of the men and one-fifth of the women were said to be confirmed smokers; and in the capital city of Chengtu, with a population of 500,000, there was one opium smoking-saloon to every 67 inhabitants.

The Empress, in enforcing her decree, had not only to contend against an established national vice, but against a great industry and an important item in foreign trade. The cultivation of the poppy was the principal occupation of a considerable section of the agricultural population; and its sudden interdiction hazarded ruin for thousands of prosperous farmers, all substantial contributors to provincial revenues. Its import was one of the principal items in Great Britain's trade with China and the duties paid on it formed one of the most prominent items in the Imperial Customs Revenue, which in its turn was the security pledged to European bond-holders for China's foreign debt. But no difficulties, either present or prospective, daunted the determined reformer, working in the interests of the morality and health of her people. It was decreed that the cultivation of the poppy throughout China should be brought to an end within ten years by annual reductions of one-tenth of the area devoted to it. All officials, teachers and students were peremptorily forbidden to smoke, an exception being made only in favour of officials over 60 years of age. As to the mass of the people, while it was

recognised as impossible to eradicate in a day the habit of years, the sale of opium to those not already smokers was forbidden; that to confirmed smokers was prescribed in progressively diminishing quantities; and sales could only be made by licensed dealers to persons licensed in their turn to purchase by permits renewable every three months. Public opinion gave the Empress whole-hearted support. All opium-dens were closed at once. The opium-smoker, who could only indulge in the vice in the seclusion of his home, became an object of public contempt; and, as the number of his license had to be posted on his front door, and his purchases had to be made openly and the drug carried to his home in his own hands, exposed to public view, his vice could not be concealed.

With regard to the import of the foreign drug, Great Britain had to be conciliated; and past history might well have caused the Government of China to hesitate before entering on negotiations with that of Great Britain to bring about the cessation of a trade which, for more than fifty years, had been a source of immense profit to English merchants and shipping, and to Indian agriculture. But, when Great Britain was assured that China was in earnest in the determination to abolish the cultivation of the poppy within her own borders, she agreed to diminish the import of Indian opium (which in the year 1907 amounted to 51,000 chests—over 3000 tons) annually by one-tenth, and in the spring of 1911 still further agreed to the immediate subjection of the import to higher customs duties and to its total abolition in the year 1917, provided the cultivation of the poppy had entirely ceased in China in that year. The earnestness and efficiency with which the Chinese are carrying out their side of the agreement give every hope that Great Britain may, when the time comes, be equitably called upon to fulfil hers.

The Dowager-Empress died suddenly from an attack of dysentery on November 14, 1908; and her death was preceded by only a few hours by that of the unhappy Emperor, who had

for ten years been virtually a prisoner in his palace, as broken in spirit under the stern domination of his ruthless aunt as he was in health. The character of the Dowager-Empress has been so admirably and exhaustively described in a well-known work[1] that our summary may be very brief. Both her career and her character justify her being placed on a pedestal of her own as one of the greatest women who have appeared in the history of the world. No other evidence of her claim to that position need be adduced than the fact that in a country that has always been manacled by tradition, her dauntless courage, iron will, statesmanship, diplomatic instincts, personal magnetism and profound scholarship, enabled her, in contravention of all tradition, to be the supreme political and adminstrative factor among four hundred million people for more than forty years, and that she, an alien, from a palace that was always seething in intrigue and corruption, was able to make her influence felt to the most remote confines of her Empire. She was said to have been dissolute in her youth; but slander beats fiercely on a throne. She was extravagant in dress and in other items of her personal expenditure, but she had enormous wealth and was prudent enough to hoard vast sums which may yet be used for the benefit of the Empire. She was ruthlessly cruel, when her interests or even when sudden outbursts of unbridled anger prompted her; but cruelty in a revolting form was a daily incident of all life in China. She was bigoted in her ultra-conservatism; but the last chapter of her life showed that she could sacrifice her most cherished conservative principles and, when the nation demanded reform with no uncertain voice, place herself at the head of the new movement and lay the firm and broad foundations of the moral and political revolution that has spread over the whole of the great Empire. One blot only remains on her record as a wise and far-seeing sovereign.

[1] *China under the Empress Dowager*, by J. O. Bland and E. Backhouse (London, 1910), one of the most important books on the Far East in the English language.

Only once did her genius fail her, and that was when she gave her sympathy to the ill-starred Boxer movement. But she redeemed her error when the failure of the movement taught her that China could never hope, so long as she retained her unprogressive conservatism, to overcome the united strength of all the Western Powers of the World.

Almost with their dying breaths, both the Emperor and the Dowager-Empress had nominated, as successor to the throne, Prince Puyi, the infant son of Prince Chun, a younger brother of the Emperor, who, both in virtue of his parental relation to the new and by the expressed instructions of the late sovereign, became Regent during his son's minority. Both the late Emperor and Prince Chun were grandsons of the Emperor Tao Kwang (1821–1850), the sixth sovereign of the Manchu dynasty; and the constitutional objections that existed against the accession of Kwang Hsü, as the scion of a younger branch of the Imperial family (p. 214), existed also against that of the new infant Emperor. But, in the former case, the will of the Dowager-Empress triumphed over long-established constitutional principles; and, in the latter, her prestige, though she was dead, had the same result. No disturbances clouded the inauguration of the new reign; the Regent, supported by a strong council, entered upon his duties, and the progress of reform continued unchecked.

We have given to the abolition of opium-smoking the foremost place among the reforms initiated by the Dowager-Empress, as it was the one of most vital importance to the moral and physical well-being of the whole Chinese race. The second place may be worthily given to the measures taken to prepare and educate the people for constitutional government. The example set by Japan in her early days of reform was followed. As Prince (then Mr) Ito was sent to investigate the constitutional systems of the countries of Europe in 1880, so Prince Tsai Tse was sent to Europe for the same purpose at the head of an Imperial Commission in

1905. After his return, when his report had been fully studied, the promise of a constitution was made in 1906, in general terms; and it was amplified, in August, 1908, by a further decree, in which nine years were definitely fixed as the limit of the period within which the new constitution should come into force. This was exactly the same period as that fixed by the Emperor of Japan as the interval between his promise and its fulfilment; and as, in Japan, the interval was used for training the people for the exercise of their new Imperial functions in local assemblies, vested with considerable powers, and in a Senate in the capital, so in China elective councils were established in the provinces—one for each province, including the three provinces of Manchuria—and an Imperial Assembly was created in Peking. The functions of both Councils and Assembly were deliberative only. The Councils, unlike those of Japan, had no power of the purse, no direct authority in the administration of their particular local affairs, no control, either direct or indirect, over officials; they were thus, in fact, little more than academic debating clubs, the members of which were chosen by an electorate of their peers with defined educational, official or property qualifications. Such as they were, the behaviour of these assemblies gave promise that, when the time came, the members of an Imperial Parliament would be worthy of their responsibility. The debates, which were open to the public holding tickets granted by the members, were characterised by dignity, intelligence and fearlessness; for, though the members could not control, they could criticise officials, and this power was freely exercised, while all the subjects that figured in the national reform programme of the day—opium-smoking, the judiciary, police, prisons, railways, the development of industry and agriculture, the suppression of gambling (almost as universal a vice as opium-smoking)—came under discussion.

The "Imperial Assembly" or Senate held its first session at Peking on October 3, 1910. Its members, 91 in number—

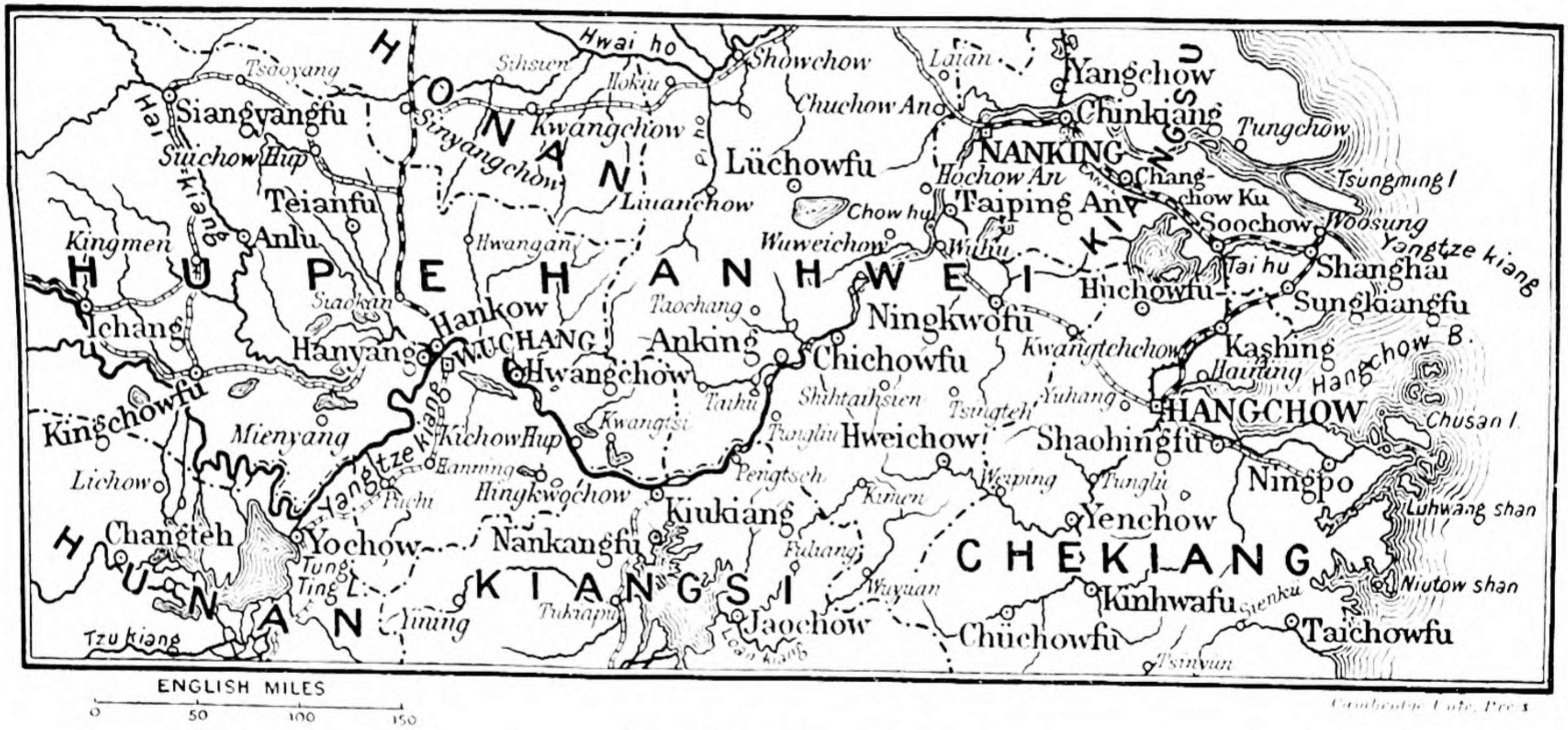
princes, nobles, officials and scholars—were all Government nominees, almost equally divided into Manchus and Chinese. They took a forward part in criticising the policy and action of the Government and, biassed though a large section was by the race prejudices of the ruling dynasty, all whose interests might be supposed to lie in the maintenance of the *status quo*, they have shown themselves little less keen as reformers than was the Dowager-Empress herself in her closing days; and their representations, following on numerous memorials, have already produced a substantial curtailment of the period originally fixed as that in which an effective national parliament should meet.

Space does not permit us to describe in detail the other reforms that were in progress. To those of the military and educational systems we have already referred. A great scheme of naval regeneration, for the carrying out of which only money was wanting, was in contemplation. The national currency, hitherto confused and irregular to an extent which made it unintelligible to the uninitiated (cf. p. 268), was in process of standardisation and unification[1]. The adoption of the Gregorian calendar was mooted. Measures were taken to centralise in the Imperial Government the power of the purse and the sword hitherto exercised by the Provincial Viceroys. Railways were extended over the Empire; at the close of 1910, 5217 miles (including the Manchurian lines) were open to traffic. The vernacular press rapidly became outspoken and influential. Above all, the spirit of nationalism spread through the length and breadth of the land. It was shown, as against foreigners, by the boycott of American trade in retaliation against the unjust treatment of Chinese subjects in the United

[1] By a decree of May 24, 1910, the dollar, which was to be temporarily of a silver standard, was fixed as the unit of the national currency, and on April 21, 1911, a loan of £10,000,000 was arranged with American, British, French and German bankers, which was earmarked for the purposes of the new coinage.

States, and by that of Japanese trade when it was thought that Japan had, in what was known as the "Tatsu Maru" incident, inflicted a wanton stain on China's national honour. It was further manifested against the Manchu Government by the increasing abandonment of the queue, the badge of subjection which was originally imposed by the Manchu conquerors but subsequently became a cherished emblem of respectability and dignity. The existence of this spirit in the Government itself was testified by the attempt, in 1906, to oust Sir Robert Hart from the control of the Great Customs Service and to replace him by Chinese nominees; and among the people it has found its latest vent in an uprising against their Manchu rulers. The physical aspect of the capital has undergone a great change; and the change is an index to that which has taken place in the national consciousness. Peking has been transformed from a medieval into a modern city, from one destitute of sanitation, cleanliness, lighting, police, and of all facilities of communication both within and without its own walls, into one which, in all these respects, is now equipped with most, if not all, the best European systems; and the city officials have proved themselves capable municipal reformers and administrators according to modern methods.

All was going well, and it seemed as if an era of real regeneration and development had dawned, when a dark cloud, that took its rise in the Yangtsze valley, suddenly burst into a deluge which has, for the time being, overwhelmed the whole Empire. On October 10, 1911, an anti-dynastic conspiracy was discovered by the local authorities in Hankow, the great commercial city which lies on the Yangtsze, at its junction with the Han, about 600 miles from its mouth. Some of the conspirators were arrested in Hankow, some more in Wuchang, a walled city containing about 200,000 people, on the right bank of the Yangtsze, immediately opposite to Hankow; and three, who were alleged to be ringleaders, were summarily decapitated. This, instead of terrorising,



THE LOWER YANGTZE

excited their sympathisers to fury; and a general uprising took place in Wuchang, mobs consisting of several thousand men suddenly attacking and destroying the Yamên of the Viceroy, who barely saved his life by escaping to a gunboat on the river. Wuchang had a garrison of 20,000 troops, well drilled and equipped, and commanded by officers who had been fully trained either in Japan or by Japanese officers in China, and had imbibed, in an intensified degree, both the revolutionary and the patriotic ideas on which the policy of the Young China party is based. These officers and men, who were some of the most efficient troops in China, mutinied and, throwing in their lot with the insurgents, took complete possession not only of Wuchang but of the city of Hanyang and its arsenal, which are on the same side of the Yangtsze as Hankow but are separated from it by the river Han. What was at first a riot then became a serious revolution, which spread, within a few weeks, not only through the rich valley of the Yangtsze but over the whole Empire, from Chihli in the North to Kwangtung in the South, from Shantung in the East to Szechuan in the remote West. The revolutionaries acted with a promptitude and unanimity that could only have been the result of long and careful organisation. In the South, the great cities of Canton and Foochow joined their cause; and sympathy with them was apparent even in Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. From their headquarters at Wu Han (the common title of the three cities on the Yangtsze) they proclaimed a "military Government," with the object of securing freedom for their country and, as an essential thereto, of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. To all Europeans they promised complete security, both of person and property. They avowed their intention of faithfully observing all treaties between China and the Western Powers; and they maintained such discipline that the conduct of their troops would have been a model for any army.

China has always been honeycombed with secret societies,

prominent among which is the Ko-lao-hui (Old Brotherhood Society) with a membership of three millions; and their activity has been most marked in the Yangtsze valley, where there are said to be more than one hundred societies with 5,000,000 members, and at Canton. The avowed object of all is the overthrow of the Manchu and the establishment of a republican system. Their members include many descendants of the Taiping rebels, both in China and abroad, especially in Australia, Siam, and the Straits Settlements, among the latter being many who have acquired great wealth, but have never ceased to cherish bitter hatred for their Manchu conquerors and a desire to put an end to the dynasty. These societies were ever on the watch for their opportunity, and, organised principally by Sun Yat Sen, a Chinaman who has passed the greater part of his life abroad and who obtained considerable notoriety in England a few years ago through the attempt which the Chinese Legation in London made to kidnap him, have been collecting funds and making every necessary preparation during the last ten years to seize the opportunity when it came. Early in the year 1911, there were some disturbances in Canton and Changsha, followed by a more serious outbreak in the province of Szechuan, the last being caused by a railway nationalisation project of the Government to which the new local assembly was strongly opposed. All these movements were suppressed, but they left their legacy of discontent behind; and, when the mutiny occurred at Wuchang, the leaders received supplies both of men and money in abundance from the secret societies and the still more active sympathy which was testified by the open adhesion of the great southern cities to their cause. Amply supplied with men and, for the moment, with money, with well-drilled troops, led by three generals, Hwang Hsing, Yuan Hung and Wang Te Shing, admittedly the best in China in training, experience and character, and with all China, except the metropolitan provinces, in their favour, the revolutionaries in a few weeks became as formidable

as were the Taipings, half a century ago, after three years of warfare. The populace in general testified their sympathy by following the example previously set by only a section in now almost universally hastening to discard the time-honoured queue; and one result of this movement was a great increase in the hat manufacturing industry of Japan, where the workshops were kept busy, day and night, in meeting the demand for modern head-gear which suddenly arose in China.

The seriousness of the movement was from the first recognised by the Imperial Government. Troops were despatched to Hankow as quickly as they could be organised; but, as the Chinese have little experience in railway transport, their arrival on the scene of action was slow. They succeeded in driving the revolutionaries out of Hankow and Hanyang; but whatever prestige the insurgents lost by this check was retrieved by their almost simultaneous capture of Nanking, the old capital of China, which had been held by a Manchu garrison. The anxiety of the Government was testified by their appeal to Yuan Shi Kai to come to their assistance from the retirement into which they had driven him nearly three years previously with every mark of disfavour.

Yuan Shi Kai has been incidentally mentioned in previous pages (Chapter XVII); but, as he is at the present juncture the most prominent Chinaman in European eyes and may be destined to play a great part in the future of China, even the throne itself not being beyond his reach, a short space may here be devoted to a fuller description of his career. A Chinaman, born in the province of Honan and graduating with distinction in the usual course, he attracted, while still young, the favourable attention of Li Hung Chang, and, after filling various subordinate offices, was chosen by him Imperial Resident in Korea, where, for ten years (1884–1894) he carried out his patron's policy of systematically thwarting all reforms attempted by the Japanese. The result of this policy was the Chino-Japanese war of 1894–5 and the elimination for ever of

China as a political factor in Korea. Yuan was afterwards Judicial Commissioner of Chihli; and, while holding this office, the reputation which he had acquired, notwithstanding his failure in Korea, as an enlightened and progressive official, induced the Emperor Kwang Hsü to summon him to Peking and invoke his assistance in carrying out his projects of reform. The assistance was promised, but the promise was followed by the treacherous betrayal of the Emperor, in the circumstances already described (page 331), and the consequent reversion to the reactionary administration of the Dowager-Empress. During the Boxer movement, Yuan was Governor of Shantung; and, being wise enough to see the hopelessness of the movement, he completely suppressed it in his own province but, at the same time, permitted thousands of the refugees, whom he drove out, to join it in Chihli. When, after her return from exile to the capital in 1902, the Dowager-Empress entered on her own course of reform, Yuan Shi Kai, who had, in the meantime, become Viceroy of Chihli, was once more summoned to Peking and appointed to the Grand Council. Thenceforward, until her death, he was the most trusted adviser of the Dowager-Empress in every step that she took, not only in her new career of reform but in all the administrative affairs of the State. Army and railways were both controlled by him; and his power and influence were said to exceed even those of Li Hung Chang when at the height of his fame.

In September, 1908, Yuan's fiftieth birthday was celebrated at Peking, and new marks of favour were conferred on him by his Imperial mistress; but two months later both she and the Emperor died and all quickly changed. The dying Emperor is said, in his last moments, to have written his testament with his own hand and in it to have declared that for his misery of the past ten years Yuan Shi Kai was responsible. "When the time comes, I desire that Yuan be summarily beheaded." The legacy of vengeance was accepted by the Regent, Prince

Chun, the Emperor's brother, and by the new Dowager-Empress, his widow, though not in its fullest extent; and, within two months from the Emperor's death, Yuan was dismissed from office, his decree of dismissal being handed to him in the palace in the presence of the other ministers whom he had accompanied to pay his daily respects to the Regent. It was so unexpected that he is said to have fainted when he read it. When the fallen magnate, to whose birthday celebration all that were great or noble in Peking had thronged only five months previously, left the capital for his native province, only a score of Chinese and a few Europeans gathered at the railway station to bid him farewell.

Three years passed during which Yuan lived in retirement at his home in Honan; and it must have been a bitter pill to both the Regent and the Dowager-Empress to call him to their aid and to be forced to use entreaty to back their summons. But there was no help for it. The nation was demanding drastic reforms at the bayonet's point; Chang Chi Tung, the venerable statesman who had been associated with Yuan in the councils of the "old Buddha," had died in the autumn of 1909; and there was no one left, save Yuan alone, who seemed likely to be able to carry out the reforms which the people demanded, or to organise the Imperial forces which could suppress the rebellion by arms. He slowly obeyed the summons that was given to him, and on his arrival at Peking was invested at once with the office of Premier and appointed to the command of all the troops in the North.

The revolution has been characterised by much fighting and bloodshed and much destruction of valuable property. The one bright spot amidst it all, where nearly everything has been dark, has been the absence of that mob violence which, as a rule, can be so easily aroused in China in all times of public commotion. No Europeans have been injured and there has been no wanton destruction of European property. On October 30, 1911, the Court made an abject surrender

and promised immediately to establish a constitution, liberal enough to satisfy the extreme demands of the people, and a government administered by Chinese in preference to Manchu officials. On December 7 the Regent resigned; and Yuan, with the assistance of a Cabinet, was fully vested with the administrative power, the Dowager-Empress and the child-Emperor continuing to discharge the ceremonial functions of the throne. Delegates sent to the revolutionaries from Peking succeeded in arranging an armistice; and a conference between representatives of both sides met on December 18 at Shanghai. An identical note was presented to the leaders of both parties by the representatives of the five great Western powers most materially interested in China[1] and of Japan, warning them of the danger to the integrity of the Empire consequent on foreign intervention which their continued antagonism might involve. On the one side, the revolutionaries insisted on the replacement of the Imperial system by that of a Republic, with Sun Yat Sen as its first President; and they avowed their determination to establish the Republic of Southern China (south of the Yangtsze) if they could not enforce their wishes on the whole Empire. On the other, Yuan Shi Kai favoured a constitutional system of government on the broadest lines under the Manchu dynasty.

The negotiations continued until February 12, 1912, when three edicts were published from the throne proclaiming the abdication of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a Provisional Government preparatory to the constitution of a Republic on Western models. The revolutionaries therefore carried the day, but they compromised so far as to accept Yuan Shi Kai as the first head of the new Government instead of their own nominee, Sun Yat Sen. Yuan's life-record was not such as to inspire absolute confidence in his loyalty to the dynasty, if it conflicted with his own interests; but in this case, his good faith was unquestioned, and the Dowager-Empress,

[1] Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Russia.

who, throughout the crisis, showed that she had inherited no small share of the vigorous personality and political ability of her aunt, saw with him that it was necessary to yield, and that all the Court could hope for was that it might be allowed to pass into retirement in dignity and safety. This was amply secured by Yuan. Liberal provision was promised for the future support of the Imperial family; their private property was not confiscated; the ex-Emperor was permitted to retain the title of "Manchu Emperor"; and the Summer Palace was assigned to him as his residence.

While the revolution has thus apparently realised all the most substantial hopes of its promoters, it would be rash to assert that its success is assured, and that a form of Government which has lasted for three thousand years has been finally replaced by another based on entirely different principles, which are foreign to all the sentiments and traditions of the people, however familiar they may be to the handful of reformers who, like Sun Yat Sen, have either been educated abroad or have intelligently studied Western political history. The Emperor—always the Son of Heaven, even though of an alien dynasty—has hitherto been the mediator with Heaven on behalf of all his subjects, and on his prayers depended the welfare and security of the Empire. Can the same faith be placed in the ceremonial and religious observances of the President of a Republic destitute of all ancestral continuity? Yuan may yet play the part of another Napoleon, and with the complete sympathy of the nation found a new Imperial dynasty of native origin.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Treaty of Portsmouth (p. 427), a new Treaty of Alliance was signed at London on August 12, 1905, between Great Britain and Japan, amplifying the terms of the first, and binding the contracting parties to go

to the assistance of each other whenever attacked "by any Power or Powers," and to take part in any war legitimately waged by either in defence of certain clearly defined interests. The new Treaty[1] also recognised the paramount political, military and economic interests of Japan in Korea, and her right to take whatever measures might be necessary for securing and advancing those interests. It was followed during the next two years by *ententes* between Japan, on the one side, and France and Russia, on the other. In 1911 it was replaced by a third Treaty[1], signed in London on July 11, by which the obligation of either of the contracting parties to go to the assistance of the other, whenever attacked by any other Powers, was modified so far as to except the case in which one ally is attacked by a Power with which the other has concluded a Treaty of General Arbitration. In the interval between the two Treaties, serious friction had occurred on one or two occasions between Japan and the United States. In 1908, the repressive measures of the Californian local legislature against Japanese immigrants, especially that which excluded Japanese children from the state schools and threatened to segregate all Asiatic residents in the state in "ghettos[2]," aroused bitter resentment in Japan. Later, when the general attitude of the United States in regard to Asiatic politics was believed in Japan to signify an apprehension of serious disagreement sooner or later between the two Powers, the possibilities had to be faced of Great Britain—under the Treaty of 1905—being drawn into their quarrel in the event of war. The existence of this possibility was a serious bar to the General Arbitration Treaty, which at the time seemed to be on the point of completion between Great Britain and the United States; and it was therefore eliminated under the fourth clause of the new Treaty, which specifically provided that "nothing in this agreement shall entail upon

[1] See Appendix II.

[2] The Japanese residents in the state at the time were said to number over 60,000.

either contracting party an obligation to go to war with any Power with whom a Treaty of Arbitration is in force."

The last Treaty of Alliance was preceded by a new commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Japan, which was signed at London on April 3, 1911. The Treaty of 1894 (page 208) professed to restore to Japan the complete fiscal and administrative autonomy of which she had been deprived for so many years; but the restoration was modified in one respect, in that a conventional tariff was appended to the Treaty, under which Japan pledged herself throughout its duration to levy only specific customs-duties of moderate amount on the main staples—cotton and woollen tissues and metal manufactures—of her import trade from Great Britain. The Treaty of 1894 came into force in 1899; and its duration was fixed for twelve years, both parties reserving the right of denunciation on one year's notice prior to the expiration of this period. Japan exercised her right on July 16, 1910; and in the same year a Bill was carried through her Diet by which the conventional tariff of 1894 was replaced by a statutory tariff to come into force on July 17, 1911—the first day on which Japan became vested in perfectly unshackled autonomy in all her fiscal interests. Large increases were made in the customs-duties leviable on the articles mentioned in the original conventional tariff, so large that serious apprehensions were felt by British manufacturers of a very substantial decrease in their trade with Japan; and it was urged by them that the Japanese, by arbitrarily imposing these heavy fiscal burdens on British imports, gave little evidence of the friendly treatment which the political alliance entitled Great Britain to claim from her. Still greater dissatisfaction was expressed by resident British merchants in Japan—the men who can justly claim to have built the whole of Japan's trade with Europe, and to have furnished both the capital and experience by which alone it could have been raised from nothing to its present prosperous condition—who now saw the whole of their business threatened

with extinction and themselves with ruin. Many among them went so far as to allege that the new tariff was compiled with the deliberate intention of driving them from Japan and effecting the transfer of all their business to native traders.

Our voteless fellow-countrymen in Japan might have appealed in vain to the British Government, which, during the present generation, has shown but little consideration for their personal or commercial interests; but the threatened grievances of home manufacturers—ably voiced both in Parliament and in the press—were sufficient to arouse even the Foreign Office from its characteristic supineness in commercial affairs. Negotiations took place between the two Governments; and, as their result, the Japanese were induced to consent to reductions, varying from one-third to one-fifth, of their new statutory duties on goods of British manufacture. Substantial as were these reductions, the new duties are still largely in excess of the old; and it remains to be seen whether they will exercise a baneful effect on our trade. The Japanese Government declare that the new duties are designed solely for the purposes of the Imperial revenue, and that, as no increase of revenue could exist along with a diminished import, they have been carefully estimated so that they should in no instance prove a greater burden than the trade can bear. British merchants in Japan are, however, still pessimistic as to their future. In its other clauses, the new commercial Treaty was practically similar to that of 1894 which it displaced; and its duration was fixed for the same period of twelve years, with the special proviso—"to meet the contingency of either contracting Power desiring to revise the Tariff Schedule appended to it before the end of the period"—that either might, on certain conditions as to notice, "terminate the Tariff article separately without prejudice to the other stipulations of the Treaty." The aggregate value of all imports to Japan from Great Britain, irrespective of her colonies, in 1910 was, it

may be mentioned, over £9,500,000 and that of Japanese exports to Great Britain—principally silk manufactures, straw plaits and raw copper—over £2,578,000. The incident was used by Tariff Reformers in Great Britain as an argument to illustrate the impossibility, under a free-trade system, of purchasing reciprocal tariff concessions from foreign Powers; but it is manifest that no tariff which did not transcend all principles of reason would have been an effective weapon in British hands when the balance of trade was so greatly in her favour.

The Alliance of 1905 was almost sufficient to console Japan for the failure to reap from the Russian war all the harvest she had hoped. It gave the final recognition to the status she had acquired as a great Power; it secured her from interference in the development and maintenance of the rights which she had won by force of arms on the continent of Asia; and it gave her an absolutely free hand in Korea, whose territorial integrity and independence she had been bound under the original Treaty to respect. For three decades, Korea had been a continuous source of anxiety and dread to Japanese statesmen. They had ever before their eyes the possibility of its falling a prey, in its utter incapacity to defend itself, to Russia's insatiable land-hunger, and the danger which Russian naval and military bases established in its capacious harbours would threaten to the future security, even to the continued independence, of Japan.

At last Russia's supremacy was effaced in Korea and that of Japan established. She had now a free hand, and she lost no time in using it. Prince Ito, her greatest constructive and administrative statesman, was sent to Korea as Ambassador; and within a few months of his arrival, his strength of character and firmness in diplomacy enabled him to wring from the Korean Government a convention by which they surrendered to Japan the management of all their foreign affairs and accepted a Japanese Resident-General instead of an Ambassador at their capital, with subordinate Residents instead of Consuls

at all the open ports. Prince Ito continued to reside at the capital under his new title for two years, devoting, in his old age, the same industry and ability to the regeneration of Korea that he had employed with such conspicuous success in his youth and middle age in the interests of his own country. Reform after reform was initiated by him, and financed with Japanese capital; but his position in domestic affairs was only that of an adviser, and two years' experience proved that the Korean Court and Government were hardened against all advice which they were free to accept or reject at their will. Then a new convention was made by which Japan's advisory position was converted into one of control, and the Resident-General was invested with little less than sovereign authority in all the domestic affairs of Korea, legislative as well as administrative. Prince Ito continued in his work of re-modelling and reorganising the whole administrative fabric; but his career was cut short by the hand of a Korean assassin on October 20, 1909. Much had been accomplished before his death, but more remained to be done; and success could only be attained by a step even more drastic than that of the last convention of 1907. The step was at last taken, and on August 23, 1910, Korea was formally annexed by Imperial proclamation, and a country as large as Great Britain, with an estimated population of 9,000,000, with great potentialities, under firm and honest government, of industrial wealth, and with still greater strategic advantages to Japan as a military and naval Power, was incorporated in the Emperor's dominions without a word of protest or a single claim for compensation from any European Power.

After the China war, Japan, following the dictum of the greatest of her rulers in former days—"after victory, tighten the helmet strings"—doubled both her army and her navy; and the huge indemnity which she had received from China was, in part, so well applied to the promotion of her industrial resources that her productive capacity and commerce advanced

by leaps and bounds. From Russia she had received no indemnity; and, as the result of the war, her national debt had grown from £56,000,000 in 1904 to £227,000,000 in 1908. A heavy financial burden was therefore an immediate legacy of the war; but the new obligations of finance and the new responsibilities of a continental Power were faced by her statesmen with no less courage than they had shown in facing the military might of Russia. Six new divisions were added to the army; the conscription laws were altered so as to reduce the term of service with the colours and thus to permit the annual enrolment of a greater number of conscripts; the reserves were largely increased and organised, so that they could be called up at a moment's notice; and it now seems by no means improbable that, with her present system and within a very few years, Japan will be able to put into the field an army of 1,500,000 fully trained men. An ambitious programme of naval expansion has been undertaken and, notwithstanding some retrenchment in the national expenditure, is being steadily carried out, partly by purchases from Europe, partly by the resources of native dockyards. As a fighting Power, Japan is now impregnable from attack on her own islands; and no Power on earth, save her ally, is better equipped for carrying on the overseas war which the defence of her continental territory might necessitate. To meet the expenses of her armaments, a burden of taxation that might seem crushing when compared with that of the *ante-bellum* period, was imposed on the people; and to enable them to bear this burden, the Government applied itself to the promotion of peaceful enterprise with the same industry which it brought to bear on its preparations for war. Nothing has been left undone that can tend to increase the productive and manufacturing capacity of the people. Since the war, the annual value of Japan's foreign trade has grown from £69,000,000 to £92,000,000—a fact which may be taken as an index of her general industrial development.

We have already indicated that Japan has experienced some friction with the United States. Its ostensible cause was trivial—the narrow-minded legislation of one western state with which the Union had no sympathy; but at its basis lies the belief that both Powers are aspirants for the hegemony of the Pacific, and that Japan also aspires to a monopoly of the trade of North-Eastern China—a trade whose potentialities are fully recognised by the western states of the Union. The "open door and equal opportunity" are cardinal elements in all Japan's agreements with foreign Powers in relation to the Chinese Empire, and especially to Manchuria; but in Manchuria she has now obtained a foothold which is scarcely less secure than that which she had in Korea before the annexation. The theoretical sovereignty of China is still undisputed; but Japan is now beginning to find that the security of Manchuria against the aggression of other Powers is as essential to her national safety as was formerly that of Korea, and that it is incumbent on her to maintain an effective grasp on what she already holds until that still visionary period when China will be in a position to defend the three provinces against all possible attacks.

The provisions of the Portsmouth Treaty by which Russia ceded to Japan the lease and other rights which she held in the Liao Tung peninsula required the assent of China, the original proprietor, before they could become effective. After long negotiations, the assent was given in a convention signed at Peking on December 22, 1905; and Japan was confirmed in her possessions in the peninsula and in the rights over the southern province of Manchuria which Russia had arbitrarily exercised. These included the ownership, subject to China's reversionary title at a remote period, of the South-Manchuria Railway from Port Arthur to Kwangchengtsze together with the adjacent valuable coal districts, and its protection by military guards. Japan also acquired the right to convert into a permanent railway the light military line which had

been laid from the Korean frontier at Antung to Mukden during the war. The solidity of these interests in Manchuria was beyond question; and Japan has since lost no opportunity of developing them to the utmost. A stream of emigration has poured into Shiking, just as it formerly did into Korea; and in Mukden alone there are now said to be over 4000 Japanese residents, whereas before the war there were not a dozen. Through the whole province run the strips of territory on both sides of the railways, which are protected by garrisons throughout their entire length and may be said to be under Japanese administrative control. It seems but a question of time, judging from the analogy of Korea, when the control now exercised over these strips will be extended to the whole province. Japan has opposed both the construction of other lines which threatened to conflict with the interests of the South-Manchurian Railway and the well-meant proposals made by Secretary Knox on behalf of the United States for the neutralisation of all Manchurian railways. As an answer to the latter she signed on July 4, 1910, at St Petersburg, a convention with Russia, by which both the High Contracting Parties engaged to maintain and respect the *status quo* in Manchuria as provided in previous treaties between the two Powers or between either of them and China. While the ostensible object of the convention is to associate Russia with Japan and Great Britain as the guardians of China's territorial integrity and the champions of the "open door and equal opportunity" to all nations, it is held by sceptical authorities on Eastern politics, who have carefully watched the aggrandisement at China's expense both of Russia and Japan, to be rather an agreement under which the two Powers—who must, in its absence, have once more submitted their rivalry to the decision of war--can, when the time comes, effect the peaceful partition between them of the provinces which China will be powerless to protect. It undoubtedly gave to them a political and material preponderance in the provinces, which

Japan well knows how best to turn to her commercial and industrial advantage while awaiting the development of her greater and more ambitious aims.

China may emerge from her present throes with a promise of national development that in time will render her able to use effectually her great strength and the newly-awakened patriotism of her people in the maintenance of her territorial integrity, and even yet to preserve her sovereignty in the birthplace of the dynasty which has ruled her for two centuries and a half; but neither army nor navy can be created in a day, and even Japan, with all her enthusiasm and assimilative capacity, required more than thirty years before she found herself strong enough to reap the results of her arduous efforts. Her position, at the start, appeared as hopeless as does that of China at the present day; but she was led on her path of reform by an Emperor of her own race, to whom the whole nation rendered the most reverential obedience, and he had in his councils statesmen whose perspicuity and industry were on a par with their devotion to their sovereign and their country. Who is to lead China on her onward path and to raise four hundred millions of people, ruled by the President of a new Republic who can only govern in violation of all the principles of ancestor-worship that have hitherto been the cornerstone of Chinese religion and loyalty, into the condition of efficiency that has been attained by Japan's forty millions? Even if this end is ultimately attained, will Japan in the meantime be content with her present spoils? For the first time her Cabinet, which has just entered on office, is supported by a majority of the Diet. The new Prime Minister, the Marquis Saionji, the representative of one of the historic families of the old court nobility, was trained in the school of the late Prince Ito and was associated with him both in his Cabinet and in his membership of the greatest political party in the State. Secure in his sovereign's confidence, in the support of a great political party, in his reliance on Japan's

military capacity to maintain her claims against all comers in the Far East, may he not be ambitious to follow the precedent set in the case of Korea and realise the forecasts to which we have already referred by adding Manchuria to his Imperial Master's dominions? Russia has been as completely effaced from Southern Manchuria as from Korea. She has tacitly recognised this fact by her latest convention with Japan, and will look for compensation in the North or North-West. Great Britain and the United States have to be conciliated; but the commercial potentialities of Manchuria for the United States are scarcely worth a war with Japan, and Great Britain is Japan's ally. As such, she is unlikely to view with disfavour any increment to Japan's strategic strength, either actual or potential; and the complacency with which she accepted the coming disabilities of her trade with Korea, consequent on its annexation, may be taken as an augury of her policy should Japan ever decide to convert her present and restricted occupation of Southern Manchuria into undisguised annexation.

APPENDIX.

I. CHINESE GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

CHINESE geographical names are always difficult to identify; and, when they are transmitted through several channels and finally telegraphed across the world, the confusion is apt to become worse confounded. It may therefore not be uninteresting to give a vocabulary of some of the principal Chinese geographical terms.

The word *Ling* means "a pass" or "a range of mountains." We have recently been told that the Japanese have captured the *Mot'ien-ling*, or "the sky-scraping pass," the *Fênshui-ling*, or "the pass of the dividing of the waters," and the *Ta-ling*, or "great pass;" and we may expect to hear more of these strong places.

Ho is the common word for "river" north of the Yangtsze-kiang—south of that stream rivers are termed *kiang*—and there will probably be many mentions of the *Liao-ho*, or "distant river," and the *T'aitzu-ho*, or "Heir-Apparent river," before the war is over. Two rivers which have been connected with stirring incidents are the *Sha-ho*, or "sandy river," and the *T'aiyang-ho*, or "great sheep river."

Chiao is "a bridge," and forms part of the constantly-recurring name of *Tashih-chiao*, "the great stone bridge."

Shan means "a hill" or "mountain"; and we meet with it in such compounds as *Shanhai-kwan*, "the pass (at the junction) of the mountains and the sea," or *Haishan-sai*, "the sea and mountain fortress." *Hai*, "the sea," occurs in such names as *Hai-ch'êng*, "the city of the sea," an interesting nomenclature, since, standing as it now does some thirty miles inland, the city marks the extent

to which the land has encroached on the sea since its foundations were laid.

Ch'êng is "a castle" or "a city," as we see in the name *Fênghwang-ch'êng*, "the city of male and female phœnixes," which may have reference to the possibly phœnix-like qualities of the inhabitants. *Wan* is "a bay" or "bend," and occurs in the name of *Talien-wan*, which was so well known as the place of rendezvous for the allied fleets in the war of 1860. Of this term, *Ta* means "great," *lien* "connected" or "continued," and *wan* "bay," and it may mean "the greatly extended bay." But it is sometimes hazardous to translate such terms. For example, there is the *chia*, or "cape," *Koliensh*ê*ng*, which would puzzle a translator, and will not yield sense until it is known that it is an attempt to reproduce the name of Admiral Colinson, after whom the cape is named. *Tao* is "an island."

T'un is "a village" or "camp," and forms a part of many compounds. The Chinese very commonly name their villages from the names of the predominating local family, and so we have such compounds as *Wangchia-t'un*, "the village of the Wang family"; or they name them after some distinguishing feature in their surroundings, as, for example, *Liuhwa-t'un*, "the willow-flower village."

Tien is "an inn" or "shop," and occurs very commonly in Manchuria, as in the names *Pulan-tien*, "the great epidendrum inn," and *Laoze-tien*, "the gentlemen's inn." Again, very frequently, as among ourselves, the Chinese give as the name of a place the distance at which it stands from the nearest town. Thus we have the *Pali-tien*, "the eight-mile inn." This is a very common origin of names, as, for instance, *Szushihli-pao*, "the 40-mile military station." Near Peking there is the well-known *Pali-chiao*, or "eight-mile bridge," from which Count Palikao took his misspelt title.

King, or *Ching*, as it is pronounced in the north, means "a capital," and is recognized in *Peking*, "the northern capital," and *Nanking*, "the southern capital." When transferred to the shores of Japan it is pronounced *kiō* and appears in *Tōkiō*, or "the eastern capital" (the Chinese *Tung*, "the east," becoming *Tō* in the land of the Rising Sun). Mukden is called by the Chinese *Shêng-king*, or "the flourishing capital."

Ao, "a bay," occurs in such a name as *Hulushan-ao*, or "the gourd-shaped hill bay."

K'ou means "a pass" or "a port," and is met with in such a compound as *Yangchia-k'ou*, "the Yang family pass."

Niuchwang, or *Newchwang*, the treaty port of Manchuria, means "the cattle farm," and *Hsiuyen-chow* (Siu-yen), which was lately occupied by the Japanese, "the precipitous departmental city."

T'ai stands for "an eminence," as in the compound *Linchia-t'ai*, "the Lin family eminence."

Yih is "a post station," and appears in *Shihho-yih*, "the stony river station," and many other combinations.

Fu is "a Prefectural city," and occurs in such names as *Paoting-fu*, etc.

Chow means "a Departmental city," and is met with in the name, for example, of *Kai-chow*.

Hsien stands for "a District city," and forms part of such names as *Tungming-hsien*.

T'ing is "a sub-Prefectural city," and occurs in such names as *Sinmin-t'ing*.

It must, however, be understood that the above-mentioned syllables have the meaning attached to them only when they represent the written characters by which the words would be expressed on paper. For example, it has been said that *ling* means "a pass." But there are at least forty or fifty *lings* in the language, with as many different characters representing them; and *ling* means a pass only when it stands for the character which bears that signification.

From *The Times*, July 26, 1904.

2. Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1905.

Preamble.

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on the 30th January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles, which have for their object—

(*a*) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(*b*) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(*c*) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:—

Article I.

It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

Article II.

If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.

Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

ARTICLE IV.

Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

ARTICLE V.

The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI.

As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

ARTICLE VII.

The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VIII.

The present Agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounçed it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the Alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, 1911.

PREAMBLE.

The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of the 12th August 1905, and believing that a revision of that Agreement responding to such changes would contribute to general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the Agreement above mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as the said Agreement, namely:—

(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) as in 1905.

ARTICLE I. (as in 1905).

ARTICLE II. (as in 1905).

ARTICLE III.

The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

ARTICLE IV.

Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this Agreement shall entail upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.

ARTICLE V. (as in 1905, Article VII.).

ARTICLE VI.

The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither [&c. as in 1905, Article VIII.].

[*Dated July* 13, 1911.]

[It will be observed that Articles III, IV, and VI of the Agreement of 1905 are omitted in that of 1911; and that by Article VI. of 1911 the alliance is prolonged from the year 1915 to the year 1921.]

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